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14. ABSTRACT

Deep battle was formally introduced to US warfighters through the Army?s AirLand Battle doctrine during the early 1980?s. The initial purpose for the deep battle, as envisioned by Air Force and Army leaders, was to delay and weaken Soviet second and follow-on echelons during a European conventional war. Within the AirLand Battle construct, the Air Force had the responsibility for synchronizing deep operations, and planned to employ air interdiction against Soviet maneuver forces to set the conditions for victory in the decisive close battle. The fire support coordination line, normally positioned at field artillery maximum range from the FLOT, separated the Air Force?s deep operations from the Army?s close battle. During the late 1980?s, the Army fielded a potent deep battle capability. Concurrently, Army doctrine assigned the ground forces commander the responsibility for synchronizing deep operations with the close battle? germinating the seeds of conflict with the Air Force over deep battle management. To better influence deep operations, the Army defined the FSCL as a permissive fire support coordination measure and also extended the range of fire support coordination line from the FLOT. The Persian Gulf War tested US deep battle doctrine. The JFACC, synchronized deep operations using several ad hoc procedures approved by the JFC. By most Air Force accounts the deep battle was well managed and executed, except for the Army?s use of the FSCL during the last days of the war. Conversely, the Army was thoroughly disappointed with the prosecution of the deep battle during Desert Storm. Army frustration stems from the fact that the deep battle was synchronized by the JFACC and not by the ground forces commander? in violation of Joint and Army doctrine. Joint doctrine produced since the Gulf War attempts to create a framework to synchronize airpower and firepower in the deep battle. Several contentious issues between airmen and soldiers have been resolved? especially regarding command relationships on and above the deep battlefield. However, this study finds that current joint doctrine does not provide sufficient and acceptable guidance to synchronize Air Force and Army deep operations. To better synchronize airpower and firepower in the deep battle, this study makes the following five recommendations to modify joint doctrine: Assign the joint force commander the responsibility for establishing and positioning the FSCL. Re-define the FSCL as a restrictive fire support coordination measure. Include all planned airpower, firepower, and maneuver operations beyond the FSCL on the air tasking order. Position the FSCL relatively close the FLOT, typically no farther than tube artillery maximum range. Restrict planned air interdiction missions from targets short of the FSCL.

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SYNCHRONIZING AIRPOWER AND FIREPOWER IN THE DEEP BATTLE

BY KENT LAUGHBAUM

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED AIRPOWER STUDIES FOR COMPLETION OF GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS

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Abstract

Deep battle was formally introduced to US warfighters through the Army's AirLand Battle doctrine during the early 1980's. The initial purpose for the deep battle, as envisioned by Air Force and Army leaders, was to delay and weaken Soviet second and follow-on echelons during a European conventional war. Within the AirLand Battle construct, the Air Force had the responsibility for synchronizing deep operations, and planned to employ air interdiction against Soviet maneuver forces to set the conditions for victory in the decisive close battle. The fire support coordination line, normally positioned at field artillery maximum range from the FLOT, separated the Air Force's deep operations from the Army's close battle.

During the late 1980's, the Army fielded a potent deep battle capability. Concurrently, Army doctrine assigned the ground forces commander the responsibility for synchronizing deep operations with the close battle — germinating the seeds of conflict with the Air Force over deep battle management. To better influence deep operations, the Army defined the FSCL as a permissive fire support coordination measure and also extended the range of fire support coordination line from the FLOT.

The Persian Gulf War tested US deep battle doctrine. The JFACC, synchronized deep operations using several *ad hoc* procedures approved by the JFC. By most Air Force accounts the deep battle was well managed and executed, except for the Army's use of the FSCL during the last days of the war. Conversely, the Army was thoroughly disappointed with the prosecution of the deep battle during Desert Storm. Army frustration stems from the fact that the deep battle

was synchronized by the JFACC and not by the ground forces commander — in violation of Joint and Army doctrine.

Joint doctrine produced since the Gulf War attempts to create a framework to synchronize airpower and firepower in the deep battle. Several contentious issues between airmen and soldiers have been resolved — especially regarding command relationships on and above the deep battlefield. However, this study finds that current joint doctrine does not provide sufficient and acceptable guidance to synchronize Air Force and Army deep operations.

To better synchronize airpower and firepower in the deep battle, this study makes the following five recommendations to modify joint doctrine:

Assign the joint force commander the responsibility for establishing and positioning the FSCL.

Re-define the FSCL as a restrictive fire support coordination measure.

Include all planned airpower, firepower, and maneuver operations beyond the FSCL on the air tasking order.

Position the FSCL relatively close the FLOT, typically no farther than tube artillery maximum range.

Restrict planned air interdiction missions from targets short of the FSCL.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Modern combat resources allow the attack to be mounted in such a way as to strike the enemy simultaneously over his whole depth and to delay the movement of his reserves to the threatened sector. We now have at our disposal resources like aviation . . . which can make these deep sallies [raids]. In this way the enemy should be pinned down over the entire depth of his dispositions, encircled and destroyed.¹

— Mikhail Nikolaevich Tukhachevskii

Marshall of the Soviet Union, 1934

During the 1930's, Soviet military theorists introduced the concept of deep battle. Their objective was to attack the enemy simultaneously throughout the depth of his ground force to induce a catastrophic failure in his defensive system.² Soviet deep battle theory was driven by technological advancements and the hope that maneuver warfare offered opportunities for quick, efficient, and decisive victory. The concurrent development of aviation and armor provided a physical impetus for this doctrinal evolution within the Red Army. Marshall Tukhachevskii

Notes

¹. Richard Simpkin, *Deep Battle: The Brainchild of Marshal Tukhachevskii*, (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1987), 170.

². Bruce W. Menning, "An Operator/Planner's Introduction to Operational Art," *Net Call*, Spring-Summer 1995, 9-12.

stated that airpower should be "employed against targets beyond the range of infantry, artillery, and other arms. For maximum tactical effect aircraft should be employed in mass, concentrated in time and space, against targets of the highest tactical importance."³

The US Army Air Forces captured much of Tukhachevkii's intent for airpower in Europe during the last year of World War II. American airmen were not familiar with the term "deep battle," but they were well acquainted with air interdiction in support of battlefield operations. Air interdiction operations prevented the movement of German armor during the D-Day invasion and subsequently shaped the battlefield for the Normandy breakout. General Dwight Eisenhower claimed that it was US airpower's ability to intervene in the land battle that made the Normandy invasion possible.⁴ To ensure close coordination between airpower and ground forces, a tactical air command was paired with each field army. An example was the close relationship between Major General Elwood Quesada's IX Tactical Air Command and Lieutenant General Omar Bradley's First Army that developed during the battle for France. The following description of Operation Cobra, the Normandy breakout, draws an excellent illustration of American airpower applied to the battlefield near St Lo:

On the morning of 25 July waves of American Thunderbolt fighter-bombers swept over the [Panzer Lehr] division, every two minutes, fifty at a time. They dropped high explosive bombs and napalm incendiaries. They were followed by four hundred medium-bombers carrying 500pound bombs. Then from the north came the sound every German soldier dreaded, the heavy drone of the big bombers — 1,500 Flying Fortresses and Liberators. From their swollen bombbays 3,300 tons of bombs obliterated almost everything on the ground. Finally the German line,

Simpkin, 199-200.
 Robert F. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine: Basic Thinking in the United States Air Force*, 1907-1960, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1971), 173.

or what was left of it, was pounded by three hundred Lightnings carrying fragmentation bombs and more of the new incendiaries. . . . One survivor remembered that everything shook so much "it was like being at sea in a force 10 gale."

In 1982 the US Army introduced AirLand Battle doctrine. AirLand Battle was developed specifically to counter the Soviet armor threat facing western Europe. The doctrine's precepts are partly traceable to pre-World War II Soviet military theory. AirLand Battle emphasized the importance of the operational level of war and the doctrine claimed initiative, agility, synchronization, and depth as tenets. The tenet "depth" led to deep battle's official introduction in US Army warfighting doctrine.

US Army FM 100-5 describes deep battle as "operations designed in depth to secure advantages in later engagements, protect the current close fight, and defeat the enemy more rapidly by denying freedom of action and disrupting or destroying the coherence and tempo of its operations." Historically, the Army has relied on the Air Force to prosecute the deep battle. This was certainly the case when AirLand Battle was originally published. Regarding deep battle, Army General Donn Starry claimed "the air commander must concentrate on this task, for the ground commander hasn't the organic resources either to find or to fire at the second echelon."

Many in the Air Force, especially fighter pilots within the Tactical Air Command and US Air Forces Europe, embraced airpower's role in AirLand Battle. Since airpower was solely responsible for executing deep battle when AirLand was introduced, the air commander naturally

⁵. Richard Overy, Why the Allies Won, (New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton and Co., 1996), 208.

⁶. Army Field Manual 100-5, *Operations*, 1993, G-2.

⁷. John L. Romjue, "The Evolution of the AirLand Battle Concept," *Air University Review* XXXV, no. 4 (May-June 1984): 6. As TRADOC commander, General Starry was the senior officer most responsible for the development of AirLand Battle.

accepted responsibility for synchronizing deep missions. The fire support coordination line (FSCL), normally set at maximum artillery range, served as an unofficial boundary between Air Force and Army battlefield operations.

The Army began procurement of organic deep battle weapon systems in the mid-1980s, including the AH-64A and the Army Tactical Missile System. The acquisition of these weapons, and the Army's intention to use them in areas previously reserved for airpower, generated conflict between airmen and soldiers. The position of the FSCL and its nature were initial sources of debate. Equally divisive was the issue of synchronizing deep firepower. The Army describes synchronization as the process of focusing resources and activities in time and space to produce maximum relative combat power at the decisive point. Synchronization includes, but is not limited to, the massed effects of combat power at the point of decision. Though operational activities may be may be distant from each other with regard to space and time, they must be well synchronized to ensure their combined effects are felt at the decisive time and place. In short, synchronization seeks to gain overwhelming combat power.⁸

The Air Force claimed that deep battle was best prosecuted through air interdiction, and that airpower must be controlled by an airman. The Army asserted that deep battle was just a portion of the land battle, and should be synchronized by the ground force commander.

During the Persian Gulf War these disagreements were apparent during both the planning and execution of the deep battle. The joint force air component commander (JFACC) organized the deep operations during the war, and was harshly criticized for target selection and use of the FSCL. An Army report of Gulf War lessons learned stated, "The lack of commonly understood

⁸. US Third Army, *Deep Operations Standard Operating Procedures*, (Fort McPherson, Ga.: Department of the Army), 1-2.

joint fire support doctrine and the parochial interpretation of fire support coordination measures caused significant problems in fire support coordination."

This study will examine deep battle in US warfighting doctrine. Chapter 2 will trace the development of the Army's AirLand Battle doctrine and historical Air Force perspectives on the deep battle. Additionally, it will examine the evolution of the FSCL. Chapter 3 will investigate deep battle during the Gulf War, with particular emphasis on targeting and the use of the FSCL. Chapter 4 will analyze service and joint doctrine produced since Desert Storm. Developing the deep battle requirements and disagreements illuminated in the previous chapters, chapter 4 will determine if current joint and service doctrine effectively synchronizes deep operations. Chapter 5 will conclude the study with recommendations to improve US warfighting doctrine.

This paper does not address the contentious issues surrounding the deep attack weapon mix between the services. The acquisition and balance of weapon systems for the deep battle are already receiving intense focus within the Department of Defense through the Deep Attack Weapons Mix Study (DAWMS) and the Quadrennial Defense Review.

The deep battle is waged in an area where both Air Force and Army firepower can attack the enemy. Ideally, deep operations are synchronized and seamless. The ultimate aim of this study is to better synchronize the deep battle through superior doctrine. Doctrine must grow, evolve, and mature. According to *Joint Warfare*, doctrine provides the distilled insights and wisdom gained from our collective experience with warfare. Doctrine facilitates clear thinking and

¹⁰. Air Force Manual 1-1, *Basic Aerospace Doctrine of the United States Air Force*, volume 1, March 1992, vii.

⁹. Department of the Army, *Operation Desert Storm Lessons Learned (Tait Report)*, Volume III-Operational, (Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: Command and General Staff College), 3-3.

assists a commander in determining the proper course of action under the circumstances prevailing at the time of decision.¹¹

Trust and cooperation are cornerstones of joint doctrine. If our services fail to work together effectively, a tear will appear in our joint fabric. Future adversaries will search for and exploit such weaknesses.

¹¹. Joint Publication (JP) 1, Joint Warfare of the Armed Forces of the United States, 10 January 1995, vi.

Chapter 2

Evolution of Deep Battle Doctrine During the Cold War

I have long believed that since there exists in the Army and Air Force a unique complementary relationship to conduct warfare on the landmass, it is absolutely essential that a close relationship exist, at all levels, between the two Services.¹

— General Creighton Abrams

US Army Chief of Staff, 1973

Evolution of AirLand Battle Doctrine

As the United States military scaled back combat operations in Vietnam from 1970 to 1973, Army leadership was able to devote more attention and resources toward preparing for war in Europe. Of the potential armed conflicts around the world, war against the Warsaw Pact was the least likely possibility, but also the most dangerous in terms of American national survival. The Soviet Union, already at nuclear parity with the United States, was also improving its extremely powerful conventional military forces at a rapid pace. Soviet doctrine, equipment, and training had made a significant change in emphasis, from a principally defensive focus in 1968, to an

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offensive orientation by the early 1970's. In the NATO Central Region, Warsaw Pact ground forces were poised to attack from two echelons in depth, described as initial and reinforcing. The initial attacking units were expected to attempt to penetrate NATO defenses, while the follow-on echelon units would exploit the breakthrough. According to the European Command deputy commander in chief (DCINC), the Soviets had a significant advantage in nearly every quantitative measure of military power.²

During this time period, the US Army was suffering physically and mentally. The last years of the Vietnam conflict had been particularly difficult for the Army, which was burdened with discipline problems, demoralization in the officer corps, a sense of inferiority, and an overall absence of direction.³

To address the Soviet conventional threat in Europe, the Army published a new version of Field Manual (FM) 100-5 in 1976. FM 100-5, titled *Operations*, was the Army's capstone warfighting doctrine document. General William DePuy, the commander of Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), was the driving force behind the creation of the new doctrine. This doctrine, unofficially nicknamed "Active Defense," placed importance on heavy firepower and the massing of forces in order to win the first battle along the forward edge of the battle area (FEBA).⁴ Active Defense recognized the reality of fighting outnumbered, and suggested that a Warsaw Pact invasion could be blunted by using terrain as a defense multiplier, employing new anti-tank weapon technology, and fighting jointly with the Air Force. When asked how the US

¹. Robert J. Dixon, "TAC-TRADOC Dialogue," *Strategic Review*, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 46. General Dixon was commander of Tactical Air Command from 1973 until 1978. The quote was taken from a letter sent by General Abrams, the Army Chief of Staff, to General William DePuy, the TRADOC commander.

². Robert F. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine: Basic Thinking in the United States Air Force, 1961-1984*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1989), 347-9, 547-8.

³. Harold R. Winton, "Partnership in Tension: The Army and Air Force Between Vietnam and Desert Shield," *Parameters* XXVI, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 101.

would respond to a massive Soviet conventional attack, General DePuy said that while ground forces rushed to the attack location, "we would hope that the US Air Force was working on the second echelon. It is doubtful that the Air Force would eliminate the second or third echelon. It is highly desirable that they do it a lot of damage."⁵

The 1976 publication of FM 100-5 spurred a great deal of doctrinal debate within the Army. Critics claimed that Active Defense overemphasized firepower and attrition, and did not place enough focus on maneuver warfare. The new doctrine was also viewed by many as defensively oriented, and should have been focused more on winning a war's last battle rather that the first clash.⁶ On the other hand, the Air Force found the doctrine mostly satisfactory. The Army's claim that it could "not win the land battle without the Air Force," was perceived by airmen as a clear indication of the Army's desire to fight as part of a joint team.

General Donn Starry replaced DePuy as commander of TRADOC in 1977. General Starry recognized the apparent weaknesses in Active Defense, and led the effort to produce the 1982 version of FM 100-5. The Army's new doctrine emphasized maneuver warfare, and the concept of *Auftragstaktik* — the ability of battle leaders to act independently as the situation required based on thorough training and an understanding of their commander's intent. The new field manual also introduced the operational level warfare concept to the American army. The purpose of operational level warfare was to conduct "sustained operations designed to defeat an enemy force in a specified space and time with simultaneous and sequential battles." The 1982

⁴. John L Romjue, *American Army Doctrine for the Post-Cold War*, (Fort Monroe, Va.: TRADOC Center for Military History, 1997), 16.

⁵. Futrell, 548-549.

⁶. William S. Lind, "Some Doctrinal Questions for the United States Army," *Military Review* LVII, no. 3 (March 1977): 54-65.

⁷. Army Field Manual 100-5, *Operations*, 1976, 1-1.

^{8.} Romjue, 19.

publication of FM 100-5 eliminated Active Defense doctrine, its emphasis on winning only the first battle.

Critical to the success of the Army's new doctrine was the requirement to engage Soviet armored forces in depth. A Warsaw Pact combined arms army extended approximately 100 kilometers in depth. Its first echelon divisions, when in contact at the FEBA, spanned to a depth of 30 kilometers. Lead elements from its second echelon divisions were expected to initially locate 50 to 60 kilometers from the FEBA, in position to exploit penetrations created by the first echelon. The second echelon combined arms armies could be found 120 kilometers from the FEBA. FM 100-5 claimed depth as a tenet of Army operational level warfare. AirLand Battle recognized that by delaying, disrupting, and destroying the Soviets in depth, NATO could prevent the Red Army from massing irresistible combat power for the close battle. In other words, attacking the Soviets in depth would wrest the initiative from the enemy and set the conditions for decisive NATO victory in the close battle.

During initial combat operations, Soviet second and follow-on echelon forces were expected to deploy outside the range of NATO ground based firepower. AirLand Battle doctrine, reflecting its moniker, relied almost exclusively upon the Air Force to prosecute operations in depth. General Starry coined the term "AirLand" to signal the Army's desire for airpower support. According to General Starry

breaking up the mass and slowing the momentum of second echelon forces is critical to the ground commander fighting the first echelon. The air commander must concentrate on this task, for the ground commander hasn't the organic resources either to find or to fire at the second

 $^{^9}$. Army Field Manual 100-2-1, *The Soviet Army: Operations and Tactics*, 1984, 4-4 to 4-9. 10 . Army Field Manual 100-5, *Operations*, 1982, 2-1.

echelon [emphasis added]. Forces fighting the first echelon must have the additional target servicing of aerial firepower to win against a breakthrough.¹¹

Despite Air Force capability to fight the deep battle, the Army initiated procurement programs for deep attack weapon systems during the 1980's. The most notable acquisitions were the AH-64A Apache and the Army Tactical Missile System (ATACMS). These organic deep attack weapon systems filled three perceived shortfalls in airpower support provided by the Air Force. These deficiencies were a slow moving Air Force targeting cycle, the potential that insufficient Air Force airpower would be allocated to the deep battle, and the possibility that the Air Force would select deep battle targets not synchronized with the ground commander's intent.¹² The first combat ready Apache was delivered in January 1984, and by 1991 the Army had acquired over 700 airframes.¹³ The Apache was designed to fly and fight at night, and had a combat radius in excess of 150 kilometers. It was armed with a 30 millimeter chain gun, and a flexible combination of rockets and laser guided Hellfire missiles.¹⁴ The Apache's most important weapon was the Hellfire, because the missile possessed the capability to destroy all known types of armored vehicles.

The ATACMS was acquired to provide corps field artillery with a weapon system that could range the entire battlefield, and out-range any known artillery threat. Two ATACMS missiles could be carried and launched from a multiple launch rocket system (MLRS) vehicle. ATACMS production began in 1990 on an initial purchase of 300 missiles. The first ATACMS variant,

¹¹. John L. Romjue, "The Evolution of the AirLand Battle Concept," *Air University Review* XXXV, no. 4 (May-June 1984): 6.

¹². David H. Zook, *The Fire Support Coordination Line: Is it Time to Reconsider Our Doctrine?*, (Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: Command and General Staff College, 1992), 75.

¹³. Jane's All the World's Aircraft, 1996-7, (Alexandria, Va.: Jane's Information Group Inc., 1997), 661-664.

¹⁴. Third US Army, *Deep Operations SOP*, C-1.

Block 1A, delivered 950 M74 anti-personnel/material sub-munitions and had a 124 kilometer range. Response time for the weapon system was 15 to 60 minutes, and time of flight to maximum range was 5.5 minutes. The warhead was optimized for soft or lightly armored targets such as radars and petroleum storage, and had no capability against heavily armored targets. 16

As the Army acquired organic deep battle weapon systems its doctrine evolved to synchronize deep attack with the close battle. The 1989 edition of FM 100-15, *Corps Operations*, placed the responsibility for planning, coordinating, and executing deep operations with three organizations located within the corps main command post — the plans cell, the operations cell, and the fire support cell. Plans cell deep operations functions included planning the deep battle, determining high payoff targets, and developing detection and delivery concepts to support deep attack. The current operations cell function was to synchronize the deep battle with close and rear operations. The fire support cell functions were to ensure adequate fire support for the deep battle, to coordinate tactical air support, and to control all organic deep fires.¹⁷

The Army's major organization for deep battle coordination with the Air Force was the battlefield coordination element (BCE). The BCE was located at the air operations center, and served as the interface between the land component commander and the air component commander. The BCE was tasked to process Army requests for air support, monitor and explain the current ground situation in the tactical air control center (TACC), and provide a conduit of information and intelligence between the TACC and the land component headquarters. The BCE

^{15.} Jane's Armour and Artillery, 1996-7, (Alexandria, Va.: Jane's Information Group Inc., 1997), 780.

¹⁶. Third US Army, *Deep Operations SOP*, C-2.

¹⁷. Army Field Manual 100-15, Corps Operations, 1989, C-1 to C-3.

was organized for operations involving echelons above corps and was staffed by approximately 30 soldiers.¹⁸

In summary, AirLand Battle served as the Army's operational warfighting doctrine from 1982, and remained so through the Persian Gulf War. It had its genesis in the realization that a European conventional war against the Warsaw Pact could not be won through the close battle alone. Instead, a successful war with the Soviets demanded deep attack operations against second and follow-on armored forces — thus setting the conditions for victory in an offensive-minded close battle. AirLand Battle doctrine required joint commitment from the Air Force because the bulk of US deep attack firepower was Air Force airpower. During the late 1980's the Army began to field a potent organic deep operations capability by acquiring attack helicopters and long-range surface-to-surface missiles. Finally, the Army created the battlefield coordination element to represent the land component commander's interests in the TACC, as well as assist in synchronizing Army-Air Force operations.

Air Force Doctrine and Deep Battle

Basic Air Force doctrine, codified in Air Force Manual (AFM) 1-1, remained relatively stable as the Army developed AirLand Battle. This is not to say that the Air Force was unresponsive to the rising Soviet conventional threat, and the Army's efforts to counter the Warsaw Pact. Rather, Air Force basic doctrine essentially remained relevant to all of AirLand Battle's evolutionary phases.

During and after the US involvement in Vietnam the Air Force leadership was keenly aware of the conventional airpower threat to NATO posed by the Soviet Union and its satellites. A

¹⁸. Army Field Manual 6-20, Fire Support in the AirLand Battle, 1988, 2-2.

Senate Armed Services Committee visit to NATO in 1972 reported that all major Air Force officials believed that it would be very difficult to achieve and maintain air superiority during a European conventional war. Air Force leaders had ample reason for concern since Warsaw Pact tactical aircraft outnumbered NATO's 5,000 to 3,000. In addition to numerical superiority, Red combat aircraft were dispersed to numerous airfields, and protected in modern concrete shelters.¹⁹

Air Force leaders were also cognizant of the Warsaw Pact armored menace and made statements regarding methods to defeat a Soviet invasion that were amazingly consistent with future Army doctrine. In 1975 Air Force Chief of Staff General David Jones stated

... the plan is to use the air in Europe to stop a breakthrough, with very, very limited operations deep in enemy territory or deep strikes for air superiority against his airfields.... I am not saying there will not be some of that. But, basically *most of out air would be committed to battlefield support* and battlefield air superiority. [emphasis added]²⁰

This comment reflected concern with the massive Soviet armored threat. General Jones' statement also indicated a commitment to use intense air interdiction and CAS near the battlefield in a defensive effort to blunt an enemy initiative. This focus had much in common with the Army's Active Defense doctrine that was produced one year later.

The 1975 edition of AFM 1-1 stated that air interdiction operations are conducted to

... destroy, neutralize, or delay enemy ground or naval forces before they can be brought to bear against friendly forces. These operations also restrict the combat capability of enemy forces by disrupting their lines of communications and by destroying the supplies that sustain an effective level of enemy activity. Aerospace forces responsible for air interdiction must be

¹⁹. Futrell, 494.

capable of timely response to the requirements for attacking fleeting, point, and area targets, and ranging throughout enemy territory to seek out and destroy these targets.²¹

Frustration with air interdiction's apparent ineffectiveness during the Vietnam conflict motivated Air Force leaders and other US defense officials to closely examine the interdiction mission. A Department of Defense (DOD) Systems Analysis Office study asserted that interdiction employed near the battlefield was more effective than the classic long-range air interdiction historically accomplished by the Air Force. It defined battlefield interdiction as air support integrated with ground operations, which has the aim of halting enemy movements and resupply into a given area. The study claimed that during both the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts long-range interdiction had been a failure. It predicted the same result for long-range interdiction efforts in a major European conflict. In Europe, air interdiction against rear lines of communication (LOC) would be ineffective due the size and redundancy of the LOC network. According to the Systems Analysis Office

It would be virtually impossible to disrupt the flow of essential war materiel from rear areas to the front by means of a conventional bombing campaign against railroad centers, bridges, and roads. Systems analysis studies indicated that even if flow capacity could be reduced by as much as 90 percent, the remaining capacity would be enough to reinforce and resupply an 80-division Warsaw Pact force.²²

As the conceptual of airpower moved closer to the ground forces in contact, air interdiction's desired effects also required examination. AFM 1-1 listed three air interdiction effects: destroy,

²⁰. ibid.

²¹. Air Force Manual 1-1, *United States Air Force Basic Doctrine*, 1975, 3-2.

²². Alain C. Enthoven and K. Wayne Smith, *How Much is Enough?*, (New York, N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1969), 221-2.

neutralize, and delay.²³ General Leslie Bray, Air Force director of Doctrine, Concepts, and Objectives, stated in 1972, "Interdiction today has come to be identified almost solely with reducing the flow of men and materials. Indeed, if airpower can find and strike enemy forces . . . it might well emerge as a significant and perhaps decisive factor for countering enemy land forces."²⁴ General Bray believed that air interdiction in support of the battlefield might by more effective if the focus was on destruction rather than simply reducing the enemy's rate of advance. The disposition to directly engage the Soviet Army with airpower, held by some of the most important leaders in the Air Force, made the AirLand Battle concept an easy sell for the US Army.

In 1973 General Robert Dixon, the Tactical Air Command (TAC) commander, initiated a series of joint staff meetings with General DePuy to improve air-land interoperability. General Dixon also recognized the growing Soviet conventional threat to NATO, and believed that an Air Force-Army battle team was critical to countering the threat.²⁵ TAC's relationship with TRADOC was formalized in 1975 with the creation of the Air-Land Forces Applications (ALFA) directorate. ALFA's main purpose was to improve joint capabilities, procedures, and doctrine to win the air-land battle. General DePuy stated

We are working on the procedures . . . for close air support, air defense suppression, and a lot of other things . . . I submit to you it probably has not ever happened before with the intensity that it has right now. We have a mission to make the joint Air Force-Army team out there as effective as we can.

Air Force Manual 1-1, *United States Air Force Basic Doctrine*, 1975, 3-2.
 Futrell, 548.

An important project under the supervision of ALFA was the Joint Second Echelon Interdiction (J-SEI) study. Later known as Joint Attack Second Echelon (J-SAK), the study group was tasked to develop second echelon attack concepts and procedures in 1981. General Starry later used the results from this study to help produce AirLand Battle doctrine.²⁶

A clear indication of Air Force interest in fighting the deep battle was the addition of the term battlefield air interdiction (BAI) to AFM 1-1 in 1979. According to AFM 1-1, BAI was not a new mission, but a subset of the air interdiction mission. BAI was defined as "that portion of the air interdiction mission which may have a direct or near term effect upon surface operations." BAI required both the air and land commanders coordinate their operations to ensure effective support.²⁷ Some airmen were unhappy with the addition of BAI into Air Force doctrine. The BAI concept generated two basic areas for concern. First, some officers perceived that it created a condition where the ground commander could directly task interdiction missions. One Air Force colonel remarked, "our own doctrine has broken off a piece of the interdiction mission, given it a separate title, and then essentially applied to it the definition of close air support in requiring it to be coordinated with the ground commander's fire and maneuver!"²⁸ Most airmen believed that if centralized control over airpower was lost, air operations will be severely degraded. Dividing airpower and parceling it to individual ground commanders for targeting would destroy its most important characteristic, flexibility.²⁹ General Wilbur Creech, who replaced General Dixon as TAC commander, addressed those officers who had concerns with BAI targeting. He claimed that the Army should have more interest and greater voice in BAI

²⁶. TAC-TRADOC ALFA, Air Land Bulletin, 25 Sep 1981, 5.

²⁷. Air Force Manual 1-1, Function and Basic Doctrine of the United States Air Force, 1979, 2-13.

²⁸. Robert D. Rasmussen, "The Central Europe Battlefield: Doctrinal Implications for Counterair-Interdiction," *Air University Review* XXIX, no. 5 (Jul-Aug 1978): 11-13.

effects, but BAI remained a form of air interdiction and the Air Force was responsible for interdiction targeting.³⁰ Secondly, some airmen believed that the term "BAI" was unnecessary, because air interdiction's definition and historic tradition more than adequately encompassed the BAI role. AFM 2-1, Tactical Air Operations, stated, "Air interdiction operations are conducted to destroy, neutralize, or delay the enemy's military potential before it can be brought to bear effectively against friendly forces."31

Regardless of the concerns voiced about BAI, it gained a degree of acceptance within the Air Force, particularly in Tactical Air Command. In 1980, TAC signed a memorandum of understanding with TRADOC to provide BAI to Army forces,³² and the 1984 publication of AFM 1-1 included an expanded description of BAI planning and execution.³³ BAI was enthusiastically welcomed by the Army. Nearly all Army field manuals referenced BAI instead of air interdiction when referring to Air Force support of the AirLand Battle.

NATO doctrine also adopted the term BAI. Allied Tactical Publication (ATP) 27, Offensive Air Support Operations, defined BAI as "air action against hostile surface targets which are in a position to directly affect friendly forces, and which requires joint planning and coordination. While BAI missions require coordination in joint planning they may not require continuous coordination during the execution stage." In NATO doctrine, BAI missions did not require

²⁹. Army Field Manual 100-20, Command and Employment of Air Power, 1943, 1-2. "The inherent flexibility of airpower is its greatest asset."

^{30.} Futrell, 554.
31. Air Force Manual 2-1, *Tactical Air Operations*, 1969, 7-1.

Defence to AirLand Battle ³². John L. Romjue, From Active Defense to AirLand Battle: The Development of Army Doctrine 1973-1982, (Fort Monroe, Va.: TRADOC Center for Military History, 1984), 62-63.

³³. Air Force Manual 1-1, *Basic Aerospace Doctrine of the United States Air Force*, 1984, 3-3 to 3-4. According to the 1984 AFM 1-1, air interdiction against targets which are close enough to have a near term effect on friendly ground forces is called battlefield air interdiction. The manual adds, "The primary difference between battlefield air interdiction and the remainder of the air interdiction effort is the level of interest and emphasis the land commander places on the process of identifying, selecting, and attacking certain targets. Therefore, battlefield air interdiction requires joint coordination at the component level during planning, but once planned,

positive control, but were planned against targets on either side of the FSCL.³⁴ This policy was different from Air Force doctrine, which stated that all interdiction missions were flown against targets beyond the FSCL.³⁵ ATP-27 also combined BAI into a category of missions called offensive air support (OAS). The OAS missions, which included CAS and tactical air reconnaissance, were conducted in direct support of land operations. Under NATO doctrine, control of OAS missions was not centralized under a theater air commander. Instead, these missions were allocated to a regional air commander at the Allied Tactical Air Force (ATAF) level. This was significant for two reasons. First, the ATAF commander worked directly for an army group commander, who had far greater influence over air operations and targeting than a ground commander had under US doctrine. Second, many US Army officers cut their teeth in NATO and did not understand that the NATO model for airpower command and control would not be used when the US went to war outside Europe.³⁶

The Air Force, especially TAC and USAFE, embraced its role in the Army's AirLand Battle doctrine. Like their Army peers, Air Force leaders recognized the threat posed by the Warsaw Pact and believed that the air-land team offered opportunities for combat success. Many in the Air Force believed that battlefield air interdiction would be extremely effective, especially in light of long-range interdiction's apparent failure during the Vietnam War. With the establishment of ALFA, the Air Force institutionalized an AirLand Battle partnership with the Army. AirLand doctrine was appealing to airmen for many reasons. High among those reasons

battlefield air interdiction is controlled and executed by the air commander as an integral part of a total air interdiction campaign."

³⁴. NATO Allied Tactical Publication 27(B), Offensive Air Support Operations, 1983, 3-2 to 3-3.

^{35.} Air Force Manual 2-1, *Tactical Air Operations*, 1969, 7-1.

³⁶. Winton, 110.

was the fact that the deep battle set the conditions for victory and air interdiction was the primary means for deep attack.

Evolution of the FSCL

The fire support coordination line, which is critically important and controversial in the conduct of the deep battle, has a long history. It ancestors were developed during the 1940's, and it has gone through a series of evolutionary changes to keep it relevant to US warfighting doctrine. Comprehending the FSCL's record is necessary to understand the issues that define its use in battle.

The US military entered World War II with extremely limited doctrine to guide the coordination between air attack and ground maneuver forces. The 1940 edition of FM 6-20, *Field Artillery Tactics and Techniques*, designated the division artillery officer as responsible for coordination between the Air Corps and ground forces operating in the division sector. Unfortunately, the manual did not provide any specifics on how to accomplish this task.³⁷

A series of fratricide incidents in Normandy during the summer of 1944 demonstrated the requirement for a more sophisticated air-ground deconfliction planning tool. The Eighth Air Force and RAF Bomber Command were ordered to bomb the German lines to support Operation Cobra. On at least four occasions Allied heavy bombers attacked their own ground forces.³⁸ Hundreds of Americans were killed in these incidents, including Lieutenant General Leslie McNair.³⁹ These fratricides can be attributed to several factors, including the direction of air

³⁸. Benjamin F. Cooling, *Case Studies in the Development of Close Air Support*, (Washington D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1990), 271.

³⁷. Army Field Manual 6-20, Field Artillery Tactics and Techniques, 1942, 42.

³⁹. Russell F. Weigley, *Eisenhower's Lieutenants: The Campaign of France and Germany 1944-1945*, (Bloomington Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1981), 117.

attack relative to the army front lines, but one of the most important issues was the inability to coordinate and synchronize airpower and ground maneuver.

The 1948 edition of FM 6-20 incorporated the air-ground coordination lessons learned during World War II into official doctrine. The manual introduced a planning tool called the bomb safety line, which was the direct predecessor to the FSCL. The bomb ⁴⁰safety line was established by the ground commander to facilitate air-to-surface engagement of targets while preventing friendly casualties. Attack aircraft could engage the enemy beyond the bomb safety line without immediate coordination with the local ground forces. To assist the pilot, FM 6-20 directed the ground commander to position the bomb safety line along recognizable terrain. The manual also recommended placing the bomb safety line as close to the forward elements as the situation permitted, thus maximizing airpower's flexibility and potential effectiveness.⁴¹

The FSCL was established in Army doctrine in 1961, replacing the bomb safety line. The 1961 publication of FM 6-20-1, *Field Artillery Tactics*, defined the FSCL as

... a no-fire line between corps and higher echelons and a bomb line for ground and air forces. An FSCL may be established by the corps commander to ensure coordination of those fires delivered by forces not under control of the corps which may affect current tactical operations. When possible, the FSCL should be easy to define on the map and easy to recognize from the air.⁴²

The FSCL was a dual purpose coordination tool. Like the now obsolete bomb safety line, it protected friendly troops from air-to-surface fratricide. Additionally, the FSCL required that higher echelons coordinate artillery fire with the corps before employing fire short of the line.

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⁴¹. Army Field Manual 6-20, *Field Artillery Tactics and Techniques*, 1948, 95-98.

⁴². Army Field Manual 6-20-1, *Field Artillery Tactics*, 1961, 30-31.

A new edition of FM 6-20-1, published in 1965, slightly modified the definition and doctrinal use of the FSCL. Instead of being established by a corps commander, the FSCL was to be established by an appropriate ground commander. Additionally, the ground commander was required to consult with the tactical air commander and other supporting elements prior to placing the FSCL. Normally the FSCL was placed at the maximum range of the ground commander's organic indirect fire artillery systems.⁴³

In an effort to standardize US Army doctrine with NATO doctrine, the 1967 version of FM 6-20-1 produced some important changes to the FSCL definition. This release of *Field Artillery Tactics* defined the FSCL as

... a line which takes the place of the bomb line. It should be established by the appropriate land (normally the corps) commander in consultation with the Tactical Air Commander or his delegate. It is used to coordinate supporting fire by forces not under the control of the appropriate land force commander which may affect tactical operations.

The FSCL should be as close to the forward elements as possible consistent with troop safety and the tactical situation. Furthermore it should be easy to define on a map and easy to identify from the air.⁴⁴

The FSCL in 1967 had much in common with its early predecessor, the bomb safety line. The emphasis of the FSCL under this definition was on fratricide prevention, and not on managing terrain for ground maneuver or artillery fire support. Positioning the FSCL "as close to the forward elements as possible" maximized the enemy's vulnerability for engagement by airpower.

⁴⁴. Army Field Manual 6-20-1, Field Artillery Tactics, 1965, with Change 1, 1967, 23-24.

⁴³. Army Field Manual 6-20-1, Field Artillery Tactics, 1965, 23.

FSCL doctrine remained stable for ten years, probably because of the US Army's focus on unconventional warfare in Southeast Asia. The 1977 edition of FM 6-20 defined the FSCL as "a line beyond which all targets may be attacked by any weapon system without endangering friendly troops or requiring additional coordination with the establishing headquarters."⁴⁵ During this period the Army's warfighting doctrine was Active Defense, which relied heavily upon Air Force close air support. FM 6-20 stated that the FSCL could be considered a dividing line between planned close air support and air interdiction missions. 46 Since the 1977 definition did not demand FSCL positioning close to friendly troops, it became standard practice for the Army to establish the coordination measure at maximum artillery range. Normally this distance was 10 to 20 kilometers from the FLOT.⁴⁷ It is important to note that in this definition the Army considered the FSCL to be a permissive fire support coordination measure. The phrase, "beyond which all targets may be attacked by any weapon system without . . . coordination with the establishing headquarters" clearly indicates that forward of the FSCL there were no procedural restrictions to the permissive employment of airpower and firepower. However, since only the Air Force operated weapon systems that could be employed beyond the FSCL, the coordination line actually served as an unofficial battlefield boundary for targeting synchronization between the services.

The final step in the evolution of FSCL doctrine prior to the Persian Gulf War occurred in 1989. A new definition was produced in Joint Publication (JP) 1-02, and the Army specified additional FSCL guidance in FM 6-20-30. JP 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, defined the FSCL as:

Army Field Manual 6-20, Fire Support in Combined Arms Operations, 1977, 3-15.
 ibid., D-4.

⁴⁷ Winton, 113.

... a line established by the appropriate ground commander to ensure coordination of fire not under the commander's control but which may affect current tactical operations. The fire support coordination line is used to coordinate fires of air, ground, or sea weapons systems using any type of ammunition against surface targets. The fire support coordination line should follow well-defined terrain features. The establishment of the fire support coordination line must be coordinated with the appropriate tactical air commander and other supporting elements. Supporting elements may attack targets forward of the fire support coordination line, without prior coordination with the ground force commander, provided the attack will not produce adverse effects on, or to the rear of the line. Attacks against surface targets behind this line must be coordinated with the appropriate ground force commander.⁴⁸

The ground commander's joint doctrinal requirement to coordinate with his supporting commanders when establishing or moving the FSCL indicates Air Force concern with the issue. During the previous decade the Army had been using its maximum artillery range to guide FSCL positioning. This was a very satisfactory arrangement for the air commander, who could synchronize operations forward of a relatively shallow coordination line. However, the Army had recently fielded the AH-64A, and was preparing to produce the ATACMS. The increased range of these weapon systems, if used to determine FSCL location, would seriously restrict airpower access to the enemy on the battlefield.⁴⁹ Though not a joint publication, FM 6-20-30, *Fire support for Corps and Division Operations*, augmented joint FSCL doctrine to guide the soldier. The field manual stated that "the attack of targets beyond the FSCL by Army assets should be coordinated with supporting tactical air . . . however, the inability to effect this

⁴⁸. Joint Publication 1-02, *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, 1989, 146.

⁴⁹. Ronald R. Fogleman, "Making the Most of Air Power," *Field Artillery*, Sep-Oct 1996, 5.

coordination does not preclude the attack of targets beyond the FSCL."⁵⁰ This statement, which emphasized the Army's assertion that the FSCL was a permissive coordination measure for targets forward of the line, was troublesome for the Air Force. To airmen it reflected a lack of concern within the Army for surface-to-air fratricide, and perhaps an attempt to extend targeting authority into terrain traditionally under the jurisdiction of air commanders.

Synthesis

During the 15 years from 1975, when General William DePuy introduced Active Defense, until 1990 when Saddam Hussein's forces invaded Kuwait, the US Army and Air Force worked together to field a powerful warfighting team. The Army's AirLand Battle doctrine symbolized the bond between the two services. AirLand Battle was doctrine for the operational level of war and was designed to defeat the Warsaw Pact in a conventional European conflict. A central aspect of AirLand Battle was the role of deep operations, which were conducted to set the conditions for decisive victory in the close battle. When AirLand Battle doctrine was officially introduced in 1982 the Air Force was solely responsible for planning and executing deep attack operations. The Army's close battle was completely dependent upon the conditions set by the Air Force in the deep battle — requiring the component commanders effectively synchronize their operations in time and purpose.

As the Persian Gulf War approached, two issues threatened to disrupt AirLand Battle synchronization. First, the Army and Air Force had different historical and doctrinal interpretations of the FSCL. The Army viewed the FSCL primarily as a permissive fire control measure, while the Air Force saw the FSCL as a means for the prevention of fratricide and a

⁵⁰. Army Field Manual 6-20-30, Fire Support for Corps and Division Operations, 1989, F-3.

boundary for division of the battlefield. Since the land component commander set the position of the FSCL, often at maximum organic fires range, the Air Force was very concerned about being pushed out of the battle area. The second issue that threatened to disrupt AirLand operations was target selection for the deep battle. As has been the case since the dawn of military aviation, the land commander naturally wants to participate in the airpower targeting and allocation process. The pressure on the land commander to control airpower is especially intense under AirLand Battle doctrine, because airpower prosecutes AirLand deep battle. These potential problems aside, AirLand Battle doctrine was ready for its first test in January 1991, and hope among airmen and soldiers was high.

Chapter 3

Deep Battle During the Persian Gulf War

Of all the lessons we learned about tactical air operations, perhaps the most important is that the air commander must have a sincere desire to become part of the ground team. The army must, of course, have the same dedication to reciprocate.

- Lt. Gen. Elwood (Pete) Quesada

IX Tactical Air Command, 1944

Iraq invaded Kuwait at 0200 hours on 2 August 1990.⁵¹ Its invasion force, which included three armored divisions supported by attack helicopters and fighters, quickly surprised and overwhelmed the Kuwaiti defenders. The Iraqi Army captured Kuwait City by noon and reached the Saudi Arabian border early the following morning.⁵²

Six days after Iraq's invasion President George Bush announced the US objectives in the Persian Gulf region to counter the Iraqi aggression.⁵³

Secure the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

Restore Kuwait's legitimate government.

Assure the security and stability of the Persian Gulf region.

Protect the lives of American citizens abroad.

 ^{51. 0200} hours in Kuwait City is 0500 Greenwich mean time.
 52. Richard P. Hallion, *Storm Over Iraq*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 1992), 133.

During the next four months, the Iraqis deployed forces to increase their combat power in the Kuwaiti theater of operations (KTO). By January 1991, Iraq had positioned 42 divisions within the KTO.⁵⁴ The Iraqis arrayed their ground forces in a multi-tiered defense in depth, modeled on Soviet doctrine. The first tier included Iraqi Reserve Army infantry divisions, which built an elaborate defensive network containing trenches, mine fields, and barbed wire. The second tier consisted of Regular Army armored divisions, whose mission was to conduct a mobile defense. Finally, six Republican Guard divisions, three each of armor and infantry, defined the third tier. The Republican Guards were tasked with counter-attacking any coalition force that penetrated the first two defensive layers.⁵⁵

Thirty-one nations formed a coalition to oppose the Iraqis. The Coalition forces included 1,800 combat aircraft and 540,000 soldiers and marines.⁵⁶ Lieutenant General Norman Schwarzkopf, the CENTCOM commander, served as Commander in Chief (CINC) for all US forces in theater. Initially, the US deployed a single corps to the region, the XVIII Airborne Corps, but in early November President Bush decided to send the VII Corps as well. Sending the VII Corps, which was stationed in Germany, provided General Schwarzkopf with sufficient combat power to cross the Saudi border and forcibly eject the Iraqi Army from the KTO.⁵⁷

General Schwarzkopf designated Lieutenant General Charles Horner as Joint Force Air Component Commander (JFACC). General Horner was responsible for planning, apportioning, and tasking theater air operations based on General Schwarzkopf's apportionment decisions.

⁵³. Edward Mann III, *Thunder and Lightning*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1995), 37.

⁵⁴. Eliot A. Cohen, *Gulf War Air Power Survey (GWAPS) Summary Report*, (Washington, D.C.: US GPO, 1993), 8-10.

⁵⁵. Cohen, *GWAPS*, Volume II, Part I, *Operations*, 251.

⁵⁶. Cohen, *GWAPS Summary Report*, 7.

⁵⁷. Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *The Generals War*, (New York, N.Y.: Little Brown and Company, 1995), 157.

This was a Herculean task. By the war's end, over 3,000 Coalition aircraft of all types were in the theater, flying over 2,000 missions per day. The JFACC used the air tasking order (ATO) to manage air operations. During Desert Storm, the ATO directed nearly all fixed wing sorties, the exception being naval aircraft remaining at sea. Helicopters flying at less than 500 feet were also exempted from JFACC control.⁵⁸

The CENTCOM staff developed a four phase theater campaign plan for Desert Storm. The JFACC managed the first three phases, while General Schwarzkopf directed the final phase. Phase I was a strategic air campaign. CENTAF air planners identified three centers of gravity for targeting during the strategic air campaign: leadership, infrastructure, and military forces.⁵⁹ In USAF doctrine, air superiority is normally an air campaign's first objective. 60 Efforts to gain and maintain regional air superiority began during the first moments of Phase I and continued during the rest of the war. Air planners used strategic attack to shorten the time required to achieve air superiority. Phase II was designed to gain air supremacy in the KTO. This effort included rolling back the Iraqi air defense system to establish a relatively permissive air environment over the KTO. During Phase III the JFACC conducted deep operations to prepare the battlefield for the future ground offensive. To adequately prepare the battlefield, General Schwarzkopf tasked the JFACC to greatly attrit the Iraqi fielded forces with airpower. Specifically, 50 percent of the Iraqi armor was ordered destroyed or disabled. Finally, Phase IV was the ground offensive. The primary objectives of Phase IV were to liberate Kuwait and to complete the destruction of the Republican Guard.⁶¹

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⁵⁸. Cohen, GWAPS Summary Report, 3-6.

⁵⁹. Cohen, GWAPS, Volume I, Part I, Planning the Air Campaign, 149-189.

^{60.} Air Force Manual 1-1, Basic Aerospace Doctrine of the United States Air Force, vol. 1, March 1992,

⁶¹. Cohen, GWAPS, Volume I, Part I, Planning the Air Campaign, 149-189.

This chapter examines deep battle targeting and application of the FSCL during the Gulf War. Both issues were identified as potential points of friction between the Air Force and Army prior to Desert Storm. During the war, as one might expect, joint targeting and the fire support coordination line proved to be significant subjects of disagreement between the two services. Regarding targeting, the US Army's after action report, *Operation Desert Storm Lessons Learned*, stated

Desert Storm campaign plans highlighted several shortcomings in joint targeting. First, CENTCOM exercised no single targeting authority for lethal and nonlethal fires, resulting in competing priorities between the CENTAF and ARCENT planners. The lack of common priorities between Army and Air component planners led to the perception among ground commanders that the air operation was unresponsive to shaping the battlefield.⁶²

Interpretation and movement of the FSCL caused as much frustration between airmen and soldiers as targeting disagreements. After the Army significantly extended FSCL range from the FLOT on the last day of the war, an Air Force officer stated, "the safest place for an Iraqi to be was just behind the FSCL."

Deep Battle Targeting

The Coalition launched combat operations on 17 January 1991. At 0238 hours, AH-64s fired the first shots of the war at an early warning radar site in southern Iraq. The JFACC's first objective, air superiority, was achieved within 24 hours.⁶⁴ The Coalition prosecuted an intensive air campaign against Iraqi fielded forces, leadership, weapons of mass destruction, and

⁶². US Army, *Operation Desert Storm Lessons Learned (Tait Report)*, Volume III, *Operational*, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: Command and General Staff College, 3-1. ARCENT stands for US Army Forces Central Command. CENTAF stands for US Air Forces Central Command.

⁶³. Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part I, Operations, 259.

infrastructure for the next 45 days. Although the CENTCOM staff conceptualized the war in terms of phases, the JFACC initiated the first three simultaneously. Airpower attacked strategic, operational, and tactical targets in parallel so the campaign phases should be thought of as priorities of interest. Phase I, the strategic air campaign, was emphasized during the first week of the war. General Schwarzkopf identified the Republican Guards as a strategic target, hence airland deep battle against fielded forces began almost immediately. More than 700 missions were flown against the Iraqi Army during the first seven days of the war. Although it is difficult to quantify the strategic effects, it is impossible to separate the strategic attacks against Iraqi leadership from airpower efforts to shape the battlefield. The Iraqis had six corps in the KTO, but lacked an overall commander in theater. Instead, Saddam Hussein maintained centralized control over his forces from Baghdad. Strategic attacks targeting the Iraqi centralized command inhibited Hussein's ability to efficiently coordinate military operations in Kuwait and southern Iraq.

General Schwarzkopf shifted the emphasis from strategic attack to battlefield preparation during the second week of air combat. The JFACC tasked 2,800 missions into the KTO during week two. Airpower's primary focus remained on attacking Iraqi fielded forces in the KTO, especially the Republican Guard, from this time until the end of the war. Figure 1 displays airpower missions devoted to battlefield preparation, air superiority, and strategic attack during Desert Storm.⁶⁷

⁶⁴. Cohen, *GWAPS Summary Report*, 11-12, 56-57.

^{65.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part I, Operations, 259 and 268.

⁶⁶. Cohen, GWAPS Summary Report, 70.

⁶⁷. Cohen, *GWAPS*, Volume II, Part I, *Operations*, 265-271.

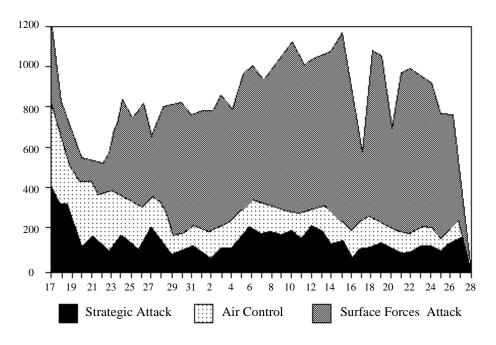


Figure 1. Combat Missions during the Persian Gulf War⁶⁸

During the final three weeks of the war, missions against the Iraqi Army increased from 3,500 to more than 4,000 per week. In total, 89 percent of all JFACC missions were tasked to support battlefield preparation.⁶⁹

Coalition ground forces attacked at 0100 hours on 24 February 1991. The Coalition's main effort was a single envelopment from the west by the US VII Corps. VII Corps' mission, restated by the corps commander was

On order, VII Corps attacks to envelop and penetrate Iraqi defenses and destroy the Republican Guard Forces in zone; be prepared to defend the northern Kuwait border to prevent [the Iraqis from] re-seizing Kuwait.⁷⁰

The XVIII Airborne Corps was positioned west of VII Corps. The XVIII Corps was ordered to protect the main effort's flank, and to attack toward the Euphrates River valley. East of the

⁶⁸. Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part II, Effects and Effectiveness, 269.

⁶⁹. Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part I, Operations, 271-289.

main effort were Coalition forces and the MARCENT divisions.⁷¹ MARCENT, composed primarily of US Marines, attacked north towards Kuwait City.⁷² Figure 2 shows the Coalition ground force's multiple axis attack.

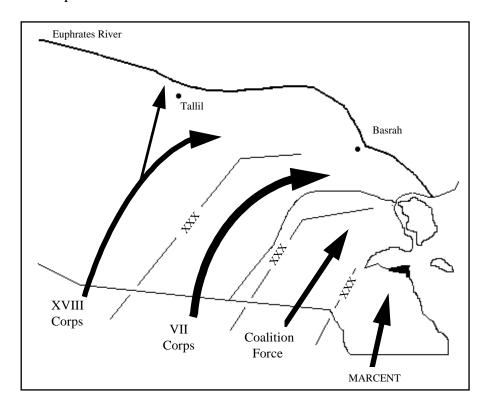


Figure 2. Coalition Ground Offensive⁷³

During the Gulf War, the US corps commanders and ARCENT leaders made repeated complaints about inadequate battlefield preparation, as well as the JFACC's proper role in the conduct of the deep battle. Regarding battlefield preparation, the Army perceived that the JFACC was not focusing on the needs of the ground force, and claimed that he was ignoring the targets they nominated for interdiction. An ARCENT situation report on 18 February stated

⁷⁰. David H. Zook, *The Fire Support Coordination Line: Is it Time to Reconsider Our Doctrine?*, (Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: Command and General Staff College, 1992), 101.

⁷¹. MARCENT stands for US Marine Forces Central Command.

⁷². Cohen, *GWAPS*, Volume II, Part I, *Operations*, 295-300.

⁷³. Cohen, *GWAPS Summary Report*, 9.

Air support related issues continue to plague the final preparation of combat operations, and raise doubts concerning our ability to shape the battlefield prior to the initiation of the ground campaign. Too few sorties are made available to VII and XVIII Corps. And while air support missions are being flown against 1st echelon enemy divisions, Army nominated targets are not being serviced. Efforts must be taken now to align the objectives of the air and ground campaigns to ensure the success of our future operations.⁷⁴

Lieutenant General Frederick Franks, VII Corps commander, complained that the JFACC attacked only 300 of his 2,000 nominated targets.⁷⁵ The field commanders were worried about Iraqi artillery near the front, which in some cases out-ranged the US tube artillery. If the Iraqi artillery was left unchecked, it could cause heavy American casualties during the ground war's initial breaching operations.

Considering the number and percentage of air interdiction missions targeted against the Iraqi fielded forces, it seems inconceivable that ARCENT and the corps commanders could complain about the JFACC's dedication to battlefield preparation. Figure 3 displays the number of air interdiction missions, per kill box, allocated to battlefield preparation. The field commanders had valid concerns, but the focus of their complaints should not have been on the JFACC. The JFACC was simply following the CINC's guidance.

General Schwarzkopf denied a certain quantity of airpower to the two US Army corps for several reasons. First, a critical component of the ground campaign was the element of surprise. The Iraqis thought the Coalition would attack either north along the coast or by way of the Wadi

 ⁷⁴. Gordon and Trainor, 330.
 ⁷⁵. Richard B. H. Lewis, *Desert Storm -- JFACC Problems Associated with Battlefield Preparation*, (Carlisle Barracks, Pa.: US Army War College, 1993), 29.

al-Batin.⁷⁶ To surprise the enemy with an envelopment from the far west, the CINC initially limited the number of interdiction missions in the western KTO. Secondly, on 12 February the CINC directed the JFACC not to attack Iraqi divisions who were at less that 50 percent strength. Since nearly all of the Iraqi divisions in the VII and

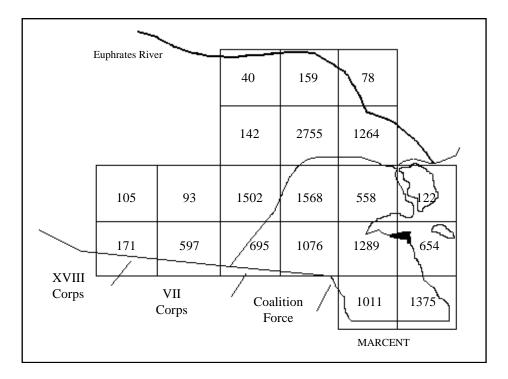


Figure 3. Air Interdiction Missions Supporting

Battlefield Preparation, by Kill Box⁷⁷

XVIII corps sectors were assessed at less than 50 percent strength with ten days remaining until the ground war, the JFACC targeted the stronger Iraqi units elsewhere in theater. General Schwarzkopf's highest priority targets in the KTO were the Republican Guard armored divisions. Throughout the entire battlefield preparation phase the Republican Guard divisions were rated at well over 50 percent strength. Consequently, these divisions received a very high percentage of

⁷⁶. Gordon and Trainor, 126-127. The Wadi al-Batin is a very wide streambed that parallels the western Kuwaiti border with Iraq. It remains dry, hard, and flat during most of the year, and is an excellent high-speed avenue of attack for armor.

⁷⁷. Cohen, *GWAPS*, Volume II, Part I, *Operations*, 267-282.

the air interdiction effort.⁷⁸ This made strategic and operational sense, as attriting the Republican Guards ultimately best served the interests of the corps commanders.

Finally, many of the corps' air interdiction nominations were rejected through General Schwarzkopf's target selection process. During Desert Storm, the CINC developed an ad hoc system to review interdiction nominations. Instead of forming a joint targeting coordination board (JTCB), or similar forum to examine corps interdiction requests in a joint environment, all requests were reviewed by Lieutenant General Calvin Waller, the CENTCOM DCINC. General Waller accepted approximately 40 interdiction nominations per day from each corps. His staff then reviewed the nominations, judging them for validity and suitability. Many targets were rejected by General Waller because CENTCOM had more timely and accurate target intelligence than was organically available at the corps level. General Waller's staff began this process at 1200 each day, and at 1800 turned the list of targets over to the JFACC. General Horner then assigned aircraft to attack the DCINC approved targets.⁷⁹

ARCENT and General Franks misidentified the reasons why many of their air interdiction nominations were rejected. The problem was not a failure of airpower to support soldiers. Rather, the problem was a failure in communications. The number of combat missions allocated to the KTO testifies to the JFACC's interest in battlefield preparation. However, the JFACC executed the air campaign in accordance with the desires of the CINC. General Schwarzkopf redirected much of the air interdiction effort in the KTO towards targets whose destruction best achieved his operational level objectives. The CINC did not notify the corps commanders of his theater priorities for airpower.⁸⁰ There were two systems available through which ARCENT and

⁷⁸. Lewis, 33-34. ⁷⁹. Lewis, 6-7, 30-31.

^{80.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part I, Operations, 284.

the corps commanders should have been better informed about the JFACC's air campaign: a JTCB and the BCE.

A joint target coordination board creates a forum where the JFACC can explain his airpower targeting priorities to the component commanders. It also gives the field commanders an opportunity to express their airpower requirements to the JFACC. Essentially, a JTCB should facilitate communication between airmen and soldiers at the senior command level. General Schwarzkopf chose not to form this type of board. Consequently, the air commander had no direct contact with the field commanders, creating an environment of mistrust. According to the *Gulf War Air Power Survey*,

Regardless of the reasons for not establishing a theater command-level target advisory board, the absence of such a board meant that a formal communications channel did not exist for Army corps commanders to express their concerns to the CINC and the JFACC about targeting. . . . Instead, the ground commanders approached Schwarzkopf's deputy, Gen. Calvin Waller. 81

General Waller actually formed a low-level targeting board, composed of a Marine lieutenant colonel, an Army captain and an Air Force captain. This board, although named a JTCB, simply reviewed corps nominated targets in the KTO.⁸² Since a command-level targeting coordination board was not formed, there was no effective joint campaign oversight.⁸³

Unlike a senior-level JTCB, a battlefield coordination element was formed and functioned during the Gulf War. The BCE, which operated in the TACC, should have kept ARCENT informed of the direction and focus of the air campaign. Besides explaining the current ground situation to the JFACC, the BCE was tasked to provide a conduit of information and intelligence

^{81.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume I, Part I, Planning the Air Campaign, 63.

^{82.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume I, Part II, Command and Control, 171.

^{83.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume I, Part I, Planning the Air Campaign, 63.

between the TACC and ARCENT headquarters. The US Army's Desert Storm after action report stated that communication between the BCE and ARCENT was not effective, and this lack of communication led to Army confusion and concern with the direction of the JFACC's effort in the KTO.⁸⁴

In short, General Horner's air effort to prepare the battlefield closely reflected the desires of General Schwarzkopf. The air campaign was focused at the operational level of war. By almost any measure it was incredibly effective. The *Gulf War Air Power Survey* stated

By creating the conditions under which CENTCOM could redeploy its forces, and by executing an almost ceaseless campaign against enemy forces in the KTO, air power established the conditions under which Coalition ground forces could catch enemy forces by surprise. Airpower destroyed whatever willingness most [Iraqis] might have had to fight the ground battle.⁸⁵

The conflicts over targeting and resulting mistrust between soldiers and airmen were primarily a result of communication breakdowns. If the JFACC's purpose in the deep battle was to set the proper conditions for a successful ground force close battle, then Army criticisms of the JFACC's airpower targeting were a result of misperceptions. This is an old issue. In North Africa during 1943, British General Bernard Montgomery's staffs had similar communication and perception problems. General Montgomery observed, "All that is required is that the two staffs, army and air, should work together at the same headquarters in complete harmony, and with complete mutual understanding and confidence."

⁸⁴. US Army, *Operation Desert Storm Lessons Learned (Tait Report)*, Volume III, *Operational*, 3-2 to 3-7.

^{85.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part I, Operations, 326.

⁸⁶. Bernard L. Montgomery, *High Command in War*, (Tripoli, Libya: Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, 1943), 2.

FSCL Friction

The US military deployed to Southwest Asia with FSCL guidance specified in joint doctrine. However, FSCL use during Desert Storm often did not comply with doctrine, and at critical times disrupted the synchronization of the deep battle. Few issues divided the Air Force and Army more that the application of the FSCL.

During the air war the FSCL was positioned on the Saudi northern border by the CENTCOM staff.⁸⁷ This placement maximized the JFACC's ability to shape the battlefield through air interdiction because the JFACC used the FSCL as a dividing line between planned air interdiction and CAS operations.⁸⁸ The JFACC accepted the responsibility to synchronize all deep attack operations during the air war. General Horner stated, "if it's inside the fire support coordination line, don't bother to tell me. If it's [not], put it in the ATO."⁸⁹ The FSCL's location, and the requirement to coordinate all operations beyond it were troublesome issues for several Army commanders. Brigadier General Creighton Abrams, the VII Corps Artillery Commander, claimed that the Air Force was using the FSCL in a restrictive manner, preventing the timely execution of deep fires and attack helicopter operations. Typically, coordination and clearance to fire beyond the FSCL required 30 minutes to two hours. Regarding the FSCL's restrictive use, the 1st Cavalry Division Executive Summary made a similar observation, stating

Fire support measures were not doctrinally applied. The corps FSCL was too restrictive. It [the FSCL] was positioned too close and used more as an RFL [restrictive fire line]. It hindered

⁸⁷. Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part II, Effects and Effectiveness, 232.

⁸⁸. Cohen, *GWAPS*, Volume I, Part I, *Planning the Air Campaign*, 339. CAS was not required until the ground war began.

^{89.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume I, Part II, Command and Control, 64.

engagement of targets of opportunity and counterbattery targets. . . . It denied the division commander the ability to direct artillery fires onto his priority targets. ⁹⁰

The US Army's Desert Storm after action report also criticized the JFACC's use of the FSCL, claiming joint doctrine clearly described the coordination line as a permissive measure, and "in no way establishes territorial jurisdiction for the air component commander." ⁹¹

The JFACC intentionally used the FSCL as a restrictive measure. He did this not only to synchronize deep operations, but also to prevent surface-to-air and fighter-to-helicopter fratricide. As was illustrated earlier, the JFACC had reason to use the FSCL in this manner, since historically airmen viewed it as a line between Army operations in the AirLand close battle, and Air Force dominated activities in the deep battle. It is important to note that General Schwarzkopf was both joint forces land component commander (JFLCC) and CINC. As JFLCC, he set the FSCL position during the air war. As CINC, he established the battlefield preparation goals to guide the JFACC's air effort. With most Army deep attack weapon systems on the sidelines and the JFACC properly shaping the KTO for the future close battle, the CINC approved the coordination requirements deemed necessary by General Horner.

To precisely coordinate fires during the ground offensive, corps planners developed a series of on-order FSCLs, all associated with phase lines. FSCL progression, by day of the ground war, is displayed in Figure 4.

⁹⁰. Zook, 114-122. A restrictive fire line is "a line established between converging friendly surface forces that prohibits fires of their effects across that line." Joint Publication 3-09, *Doctrine for Joint Fire Support* (preliminary coordination), 1996, GL-7.

⁹¹. US Army, *Operation Desert Storm Lessons Learned (Tait Report)*, Volume III, *Operational*, 3-11.

^{92.} Cohen, GWAPS Summary Report, 48-51, 119.

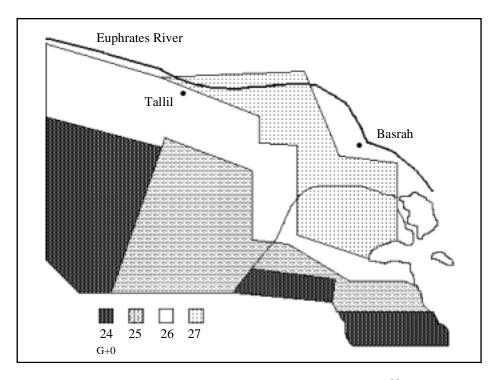


Figure 4. FSCL Movements by Day, 1800L⁹³

During the opening period of the ground war, each corps set an FSCL location for their sector. This was in contrast to the FSCL established during the air war, which was controlled by the JFLCC. The first FSCL implemented by the VII Corps for their offensive was located 25 kilometers beyond the Saudi northern border. During 24 February, the FSCLs progressed at a rate relatively consistent with the advance of the land forces. Corps efforts to shape the battlefield were accomplished through artillery fires, attack helicopter operations, and dedicated CAS missions. As had been the practice during the air war, the corps were restricted from attacking targets long of the FSCL unless clearance from the TACC was acquired. The TACC created another type of coordination line, located 30 kilometers beyond and parallel to the FSCL. This line, since nicknamed the "Horner Line," was part of the JFACC's effort to precisely shape the battlefield just beyond the FSCL. Between the FSCL and the Horner Line, air interdiction

⁹³. Lewis. 24

^{94.} Cohen, *GWAPS*, Volume II, Part II, *Effects and Effectiveness*, 243.

missions were directed to kill boxes, where a "Killer Scout" would assist in targeting. A Killer Scout was typically an experienced F-16 fighter pilot who was familiar with the enemy disposition in the area. If the ground forces required additional CAS support, kill box air interdiction missions could easily have been re-tasked to close air support roles by the airborne command post (ABCCC). This was not necessary, because pre-planned and push CAS missions fulfilled corps air support requirements. The TACC was very concerned with the risk of air-to-surface fratricide, therefore it required all coalition CAS missions short of the FSCL be executed under the positive control of a forward air controller. The positive control of a forward air controller.

A primary objective for the ground campaign was the destruction of the Iraqi Republican Guard. On 27 February, Army intelligence assets and JSTARS⁹⁸ detected indications that the Iraqi Army was preparing to retreat from Kuwait.⁹⁹ In an effort to prevent the escape of the Iraqis by means of maneuver, firepower, and CAS, the VII and XVIII Corps commanders independently extended the range of the FSCL. These actions had the unintended effect of giving the Iraqis sanctuary from coalition airpower, and ultimately permitted the nearly unimpeded escape of many troops and much equipment to Iraq. It is important to examine the specifics and rationale for both of these FSCL movements.

On 27 February, coalition aircraft were attacking Iraqi forces attempting to flee from north-eastern Kuwait. At the same time, VII Corps had accomplished their sweeping right turn from north and was attacking to the northeast in sector. General Franks believed that his corps was on the verge of defeating the remaining Iraqi defenses, and was preparing to conduct pursuit

⁹⁵. Zook, 127-131.

⁹⁶. Lewis, 23-24.

^{97.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part I, Operations, 314.

⁹⁸. JSTARS stands for Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System. This aircraft, designated E-8C, is a highly modified Boeing 707 used for battlefield target detection, surveillance, and battle management.

operations to complete the envelopment and destruction of the Republican Guard in his sector. Corps leaders, concerned about fratricide and their perceived inability to properly shape the battlefield with organic assets, notified the TACC in Riyadh that the FSCL was to be moved east of the coastal highway leading north from Kuwait City. This action placed the FSCL approximately 80 kilometers beyond the FLOT. General Horner and Brigadier General Buster Glosson, whose aircraft were executing massive attacks against the retreating Iraqis, pleaded with General Schwarzkopf to return the FSCL to a position where air and land attacks could be synchronized. 100 General Franks countered the JFACC, and persuaded the CINC to maintain the FSCL's coastal location. Fatefully, the VII Corps ground attack stalled. This series of events created a situation where the VII Corps had nothing but CAS to apply in the deep battle. Since it is difficult to achieve a massive quantity of firepower with CAS, a form of sanctuary was created for the Iraqis in northeastern Kuwait, which allowed the Hammurabi and Medina Republican Guard Divisions to escape to Iraq. Colonel Richard Lewis, who served as an air campaign planner during the war, called this incident "the number one mistake of the ground campaign." ¹⁰¹

A similar event occurred on the same day in the XVIII Airborne Corps sector. The Iraqi Army, in addition to retreating along the coastal highway from Kuwait City, was also canalized on the Hawr Al Hammar causeway. The causeway passes over a swampy area just south of the Euphrates River. Iraqi forces in column on the causeway presented a perfect opportunity for the mass employment of airpower. Since the Hawr Al Hammar causeway was north of the FSCL, the TACC sent fighters to exploit the circumstances. Lieutenant General Gary Luck, the XVIII Airborne Corps Commander, was also aware of the situation on the causeway. He tasked the

Zook, 3-4.
 Brigadier General Buster C. Glosson was General Horner's chief air campaign planner.

101st Airborne Division, under the command of Major General Binford Peay, to attack the enemy traveling on the causeway and other roads northeast of Basrah.¹⁰²

To eliminate coordination requirements with the JFACC, General Luck moved the FSCL to a position well to the north of the Euphrates River. Unlike the FSCL controversy in the area north of Kuwait City, this FSCL change was not rationalized by the movement of Coalition ground forces. No Coalition ground troops were north of the Euphrates, and there were no plans to position them there — Coalition ground forces were 60 kilometers from Basrah when hostilities ceased. Instead, by moving the line forward, the XVIII Corps staff avoided JFACC control over its 101st Division Apache helicopters, the weapon system selected for the deep operation.

The TACC immediately objected to the FSCL location because it prevented air interdiction missions against the Iraqi armor on the causeway and pontoon bridges over the Euphrates. Colonel Michael Reavey, director of night operations at TACC, stated

The Army would attempt to coordinate an FSCL move with us without really thinking through the impact of what that was going to do to our campaign and our ability to support them.

. . . The Army was moving the FSCL well out past where they were going to impact on anything it seemed to us, and when they did that they took away airspace and ground area for us to hit. 105

The TACC appealed the FSCL change directly to General Schwarzkopf. After 15 hours the CINC altered the FSCL position to a location south of the Euphrates. During the interim, Coalition airpower essentially was restricted from attacking the causeway and highways north of

¹⁰². Gordon and Trainor, 411-412.

^{103.} Thomas A. Keaney and Eliot A. Cohen, *Revolution in Warfare?*, (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1995), 133-134.

^{104.} Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part I, Operations, 257-259, 315.

¹⁰⁵. Gordon and Trainor, 411-412 and 511-512.

the Euphrates because no forward air controllers (FACs) were available. Nearly all of the air FACs were concentrated further south in Kuwait supporting other CAS missions, especially along the coastal highway north of Kuwait City where VII Corps had moved its FSCL. 106 XVIII Airborne Corps ground FACs were also not in a position to provide CAS direct control in the Hawr Al Hammar area, because they were located many miles away with the rest of the Airborne Corps ground forces.

Without question, the XVIII Airborne Corps decision to extend the FSCL north of the Euphrates River disrupted the synchronization of the deep battle along the Kuwaiti frontier. According to the Gulf War Airpower Survey, "The placement of the coordination line [north of the Euphrates] created a zone of diminished effectiveness for air power . . . it is clear that Iraqi forces benefited from the shortcomings of Army/Air Force coordination." ¹⁰⁷

Synthesis and Challenges

To fully grasp the problems associated with FSCL use during the Persian Gulf War, it is important to remember the coordination line's development, and the services' interpretations of FSCL and AirLand Battle doctrine. General Horner orchestrated the deep battle — that was the historic role of the air commander under AirLand Battle doctrine. To ensure synchronization of Army organic firepower into the deep battle, and to reduce the possibility of surface-to-air fratricide, he used the FSCL in a restrictive fashion. General Horner required that all Army weapons employment beyond the FSCL either be included on the ATO or receive real-time

¹⁰⁶. Cohen, GWAPS, Volume II, Part I, Operations, 315.

ibid., 257.

clearance to fire from the TACC.¹⁰⁸ Essentially, the JFACC used the FSCL to delineate a forward boundary for the ground commander's area of responsibility.

The JFACC's application of the FSCL, though completely understandable to airmen, violated joint doctrine. JP 1-02 stated, "supporting elements may attack targets forward of the FSCL without prior coordination with the ground commander, provided the attack will not produce adverse surface effects on, or to the rear of the line." This 1989 guidance demands coordination short of the FSCL, but beyond the line encourages permissive employment of firepower. Additionally, Joint doctrine directed the land force commander to coordinate with the air commander before establishing or moving an FSCL, but no provision was made to protect aviators from surface-to-air fratricide.

The JFACC's use of the coordination line frustrated the VII and XVIII Corps commanders as well as their subordinates who were involved in deep operations planning and execution. Army AirLand Battle doctrine placed the responsibility for synchronizing the deep battle with the corps commander and his staff. To retain control of their weapon systems during attack operations, both the VII and XVIII Corps commanders chose to radically extend the range of their respective FSCLs.

Joint doctrine did not address a specific range for FSCL placement. The air commander wanted it as close to the FLOT as safety allowed, thus maximizing his unimpeded access to the battlefield. When AirLand Battle doctrine was introduced, US Army doctrine recommended that the FSCL be used as a boundary between planned CAS and air interdiction.¹¹¹ Traditionally, Army ground commanders set it at close as practical to their forward troops, normally 10 to 20

¹⁰⁸. Cohen, GWAPS, Volume I, Part II, Command and Control, 64.

^{109.} Joint Publication 1-02, *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, 1989, 146.

¹¹⁰. Army Field Manual 100-15, Corps Operations, 1989, C-1 to C-3.

kilometers from the FLOT at maximum organic artillery range. This arrangement both satisfied the air commander and complied with Army doctrinal requirements. However by 1989, the Army no longer planned to keep the FSCL as close as practical to the troops. Instead, corps doctrine advised placing the line beyond the area in which the corps intends to execute deep operations. With the Army's acquisition of long-range organic firepower during the late 1980s, logic suggested the FSCL distance from the FLOT would increase dramatically.

During the Persian Gulf War, FSCL disagreements and targeting concerns between the Air Force and Army were multi-faceted. Joint and service doctrine must address these problems. Targeting issues mostly involved communication and coordination breakdowns. The lack of a senior level JTCB inhibited the corps commanders from comprehending the intent of General Horner's air campaign plan. Additionally, because there was no JTCB, the JFACC was unable to adequately address the corps commander's displeasure with unfulfilled air interdiction requests. The failure of the BCE to keep ARCENT and the corps commanders aware of the airpower focus during battlefield preparation increased frustration and distrust between soldiers and airmen.

FSCL difficulties during the Gulf War were more substantial than communication problems. To synchronize deep operations, the TACC used the FSCL as a boundary, and wanted it close to the FLOT. Obviously, airmen are concerned about fratricide short of the line, but they are also uneasy about the fratricide possibilities beyond the FSCL that a permissive interpretation does not adequately address. The Army, in accordance with joint doctrine, believes the FSCL is

111. Army Field Manual 6-20, Fire Support in Combined Arms Operations, 1977, D-4.

¹¹². Army Field Manual 6-20-30, *Fire Support for Corps and Division Operations*, 1989, F-3.

¹¹³. General Horner executed the air campaign with the complete approval of General Schwarzkopf.

permissive. Soldiers understand that positioning FSCL is METT-T¹¹⁴ dependent, and that the coordination line must be located sufficiently deep to permit unconstrained fire and maneuver.

These disagreements between the Air Force and the Army are serious, but in reality they point to a greater problem — a conflict over who is ultimately responsible for synchronizing the deep battle. During the Persian Gulf War the JFACC and both corps commanders manipulated the FSCL to synchronize deep operations. As a result, the deep battle lost its coherence and ultimately much of the Iraqi Army escaped destruction.

¹¹⁴. METT-T stands for mission, enemy, troops, terrain and weather, and time available. METT-T is a commander's list of factors for consideration when conducting his estimate.

Chapter 4

Deep Battle Today

We have finally broken the doctrinal logiam. 115

— General Dennis J. Reimer, USA, and

General Ronald R. Fogleman, USAF

US warfighting doctrine has steadily matured since the end of the Persian Gulf War. During this period numerous doctrine publications, position papers, and articles have addressed the prosecution of deep battle. The Army produced a new FM 100-5 that eliminated the term "AirLand Battle." The Air Force introduced an updated version of AFM 1-1 that increased airpower doctrine's emphasis on decisive and independent air operations. Additionally, the Air Force codified its vision for the JFACC with the printing of *The JFACC Primer*. Finally, several joint documents have also been published, some containing very important deep battle guidance for today's air and land commanders.

Earlier chapters have highlighted two major doctrinal conflicts between soldiers and airmen pertaining to deep operations. First, the services disagree over the definition and application of the fire support coordination line. Second, both the air commander and ground commander

claim final responsibility for prosecuting the deep battle. The previous chapters also identified other deep battle coordination problems, including the proper roles and responsibilities for the JTCB and the battlefield coordination element. This chapter will canvass present Army, Air Force, and joint doctrine for guidance and opinions relevant to deep operations. The purpose of this examination is to determine if today's US warfighting doctrine adequately addresses these problematic issues, and contributes to more effectively synchronizing the deep battle.

Army Doctrinal Evolution since the Persian Gulf War

The Army was thoroughly frustrated with the conduct of deep operations during the Gulf War. This discontent has manifested itself in the composition of several new doctrine manuals. Army doctrine has forcefully accounted for each of the major deep battle problems identified by soldiers during and after the Desert Storm.

In August 1991, Lieutenant General Franks was given the command of TRADOC and subsequently promoted to four star rank. As TRADOC commander, General Franks was the principal author for the 1993 edition of FM 100-5. He was also the driving force behind the Army's doctrine producing tempest. 116

The new FM 100-5 eliminated the term "AirLand Battle" and replaced it with "Army Operations." The reasons for this change were both symbolic and concrete. Army leadership believed that the AirLand Battle label, which symbolized a tight Army-Air Force bond, had become too restrictive for a joint environment. The dissolution of the Soviet threat also provided motivation to rename the doctrine. However, the most important reason for the elimination of

¹¹⁵. Ronald R. Fogleman and Dennis J. Reimer, Message, 191947Z Dec 96, *Joint Agreements from the Army-Air Force Warfighter Conference*, 19 December 1996.

¹¹⁶. John L. Romjue, *American Army Doctrine for the Post-Cold War*, (Fort Monroe, Va.: TRADOC Center for Military History, 1997), 1-4.

the term AirLand Battle was the Army's conclusion that organic long-range weapons made soldiers less reliant on the Air Force in the deep battle arena. 117

Conceptually, the critical change in FM 100-5 is the Army's vision of depth and simultaneous attack. Under the old AirLand concept, the role of deep battle was to destroy or delay the enemy's reserve and exploitation forces, thereby maintaining favorable force ratios for the close battle. Essentially, deep operations shaped the battlefield to set the conditions for victory in the close battle. That paradigm is broken by today's FM 100-5. The Army's new doctrine uses deep operations to simultaneously engage enemy forces throughout the depth of the battle area and achieve decisive results rapidly. The purpose of these operations is to deny the enemy freedom of action and to disrupt or destroy the coherence and tempo of his operations. 118

This vision of the battlefield, where the enemy has no sanctuary, closely resembles Marshall Tukhachevskii's original intent for deep battle. Tukhachevskii stated, "Modern combat resources allow the attack to be mounted in such a way as to strike the enemy simultaneously over his whole depth and to delay the movement of his reserves to the threatened sector. . . In this way the enemy should be pinned down over the entire depth of his dispositions, encircled and destroyed." The 1993 FM 100-5 claims that the deep battle may be the commander's main effort, with the close battle in support. Additionally, the doctrine states that on the modern battlefield the lines of distinction between these two battles tend to blur. 120

During an interview in 1993, General Franks described his concerns with the land force commander's difficulties in synchronizing operations on the battlefield. General Franks stated:

¹¹⁷. Romjue, 79-88.

¹¹⁸. Army Field Manual 100-5, *Operations*, 1993, 7-13.

^{119.} Richard Simpkin, Deep Battle: The Brainchild of Marshal Tukhachevskii, (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1987), 170.

120. Army Field Manual 100-5, 7-12.

This is the crux of the argument. . . . The land commander is given an area of operations within which he is assigned a mission by the Joint Force Commander. He does not normally have all other organic assets to accomplish the mission there. When assets that are not organic to him operate in that area, since he has the mission responsibility he should also determine the priority of what targets are struck, or what functions are struck by those external assets. . . . What you have emerging is that the Joint Force Air Component Commander will decide, or could decide, through the joint targeting board, priority and numbers of targets struck beyond the fire support coordination line. Now I don't think that is a satisfactory solution. [italics added] 121

General Franks' assertion that the land commander should synchronize all airpower and firepower in his assigned area of operations (AO) is clearly reflected in current Army doctrine. The Army recognizes that in the past airpower was the predominate force in the deep battle, however. . . the increasing range and accuracy of projectile, rocket, and missile systems, combined with maneuver and attack capabilities from attack helicopters and light forces, now provide the Army commander with his own organic operational-fires capability. The senior army commander, in supporting the CINC's campaign plan, plans operational fires within his AO. His major role is to synchronize ground and air operational fires in his AO to achieve operational and tactical objectives. 122

FM 100-7, *Decisive Force: The Army in Theater Operations*, assigns the land force commander the overall responsibility for managing interdiction operations within his AO. *Decisive Force* maintains that the senior Army commander is responsible for orchestrating organic and joint weapons employment to "disrupt, delay, destroy, or degrade enemy operational"

¹²¹. William Robinson, *AirLand Battle Tactics: An Analysis of Doctrine and Experience*, (Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: Command and General Staff College, 1994), 44. This quotation is taken from a 1993 interview given by General Frederick M. Franks, TRADOC commander.

forces." ¹²³ He is directed to specify target priority, timing, and the desired effects to the supporting commanders. Since the land force commander is the supported commander, ¹²⁴ FM 100-7 relegates the JFACC to a supporting role for all interdiction in the AO — even beyond the FSCL.

The Army raised serious complaints with the JFACC's restrictive use of the FSCL during the Gulf War. The Army's Desert Storm after action report stated

Joint doctrine specifically identifies the FSCL as a permissive measure. During Operation Desert Storm the Air Force required coordination of all fires forward of the FSCL, implying that the portion of the battlefield beyond the FSCL was the Air Force's responsibility. Joint doctrine [states] . . . supporting elements may attack targets forward of the FSCL without prior coordination. . . . This definition in no way restricts fires [beyond the FSCL]. 125

Decisive Force reiterates the Army's plans for establishing and using an FSCL. The doctrine manual claims that, as the supported commander in his AO, the land force commander is responsible for assigning any restrictions or constraints for operations beyond the FSCL. The field manual also states that supporting commanders, like the JFACC, must follow the ground commander's guidance for activities beyond the coordination line. 126

The ground commander uses METT-T factors to determine where the FSCL will be located. He bases his decision largely on the balance between airpower and firepower support. Additionally, the land force commander will place the coordination line deep enough to permit

¹²². Army Field Manual 100-7, *Decisive Force: The Army in Theater Operations*, 1995, 5-5.

^{124.} Army Field Manual 100-7, 7-6.
125. US Army, Operation Desert Storm Lessons Learned (Tait Report), Volume III, Operational, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: Command and General Staff College, 3-11.

¹²⁶. Army Field Manual 100-7, 7-8.

the flexible employment of his maneuver forces. During offensive operations the Third US Army plans to position the FSCL at 80 to 100 kilometers from the FLOT. This standard operating procedure accounts only for the maneuver of friendly armor, but not for aviation. When a planned deep operation includes aviation, the FSCL's distance from the FLOT can increase to greater than 150 kilometers. General Luck's deep placement of the FSCL during the last day of the Persian Gulf War provides a model for contemporary Army doctrine, and an example for today's land force commanders.

Since Army commanders generally intend to establish the FSCL deep within the area of operations, the coordination line *does not* represent a demarcation between the close and deep battles. Accordingly, CAS missions are expected to contribute to the deep battle effort. Army FM 100-7 also claims that air interdiction targets can be located both short and long of the FSCL. The manual states, "Attack of planned interdiction targets on either side requires no further coordination, assuming the attack is proceeding as planned. Deviation from the plan requires coordination with affected commanders." The statement implies that the ATO will provide sufficient coordination for air interdiction short of the FSCL.

Recently published Army doctrine recognizes the risks involved with the permissive employment of fires beyond the FSCL. Regarding these organic fires, FM 100-7 states they "must be coordinated with all other affected commanders in sufficient time to allow necessary action to avoid friendly casualties. . . . The inability to effect this coordination will not preclude the attack of targets beyond the FSCL." Army doctrine cautions soldiers to consider the

¹²⁷. Ronald R. Fogleman and Dennis J. Reimer, "Joint Warfare and the Army-Air Force Team," *Joint Force Quarterly* no. 11, (Spring 1996): 13.

¹²⁸. Notes from a briefing presented to the School of Advanced Airpower Studies by US Army Colonel William Powell on 12 February 1997. Colonel Powell is the Director of Aviation Training, Doctrine, and Simulation at Fort Rucker, Ala.

increased fratricide risk that an uncoordinated attack generates, implying that a balance should be achieved between the risk of friendly-fire and the benefits of target destruction. ¹³⁰

To prosecute the deep battle with organic assets, the Army has significantly increased its weapons capabilities since the Persian Gulf War. The AH-64A fleet, totaling over 750 airframes, is currently being modified with the Longbow target acquisition and missile system. When complete, the helicopter is called the AH-64D. The Longbow Apache retains all of the AH-64A capabilities. Additionally, Longbow utilizes a millimeter wave (MMW) radar to locate, classify, and target enemy armor and support vehicles. Longbow Apache can fight at night and in almost any weather, since its radar guided missile can track targets through smoke and fog. With Longbow, the Apache can engage up to 16 targets simultaneously. 131

The Army is also improving the ATACMS. The original ATACMS had a 165 kilometer maximum range. Newer missiles have a 300 kilometer range. ¹³² In addition to increased range, the missile payload is far more lethal. A new warhead, named Brilliant Submunition (BAT), gives the missile a precision attack ability. BAT incorporates acoustic and infra-red sensors to locate targets. Six to thirteen BATs can be loaded into each ATACMS. ¹³³

Both the ATACMS and Longbow Apache are optimized to defeat battlefield vehicles. Example targets include tanks, surface-to-air missile systems, and Scuds. These deep attack weapon systems have little capability against large, hard targets such as bridges and heavily fortified command posts.

¹²⁹. Army Field Manual 100-7, 7-8.

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹. Cash Striplin, *Longbow Lifts the Fog of War*, briefing slides, (Fort Rucker, Ala.: US Army Aviation Center).

^{132.} US Third Army, *Deep Operations Standard Operating Procedures*, (Fort McPherson, Ga.: Department of the Army), C-2.

¹³³. Jane's Armour and Artillery, 1996-7, (Alexandria, Va.: Jane's Information Group Inc., 1997), 781.

The Army has created a new organization to synchronize the corps' deep battle — the deep operations coordination cell (DOCC). The DOCC is located in the corps main command post. According to FM 100-7, "The primary mission of the DOCC is to provide centralized coordination and management of ARFOR [Army forces headquarters] deep operations. The DOCC ensures effective and efficient employment of critical assets and facilitates synchronization of joint operations." The DOCC's numerous responsibilities include recommending FSCL location, determining high payoff targets, planning deep attack helicopter operations, coordinating and executing ATACMS fire missions, and creating target nomination lists for air interdiction. The DOCC coordinates with the Air Force through the battlefield coordination detachment.

The BCE was renamed battlefield coordination detachment (BCD) after the Gulf War. Following Desert Storm, an Army after-action report criticized the BCE for insufficient staffing and inadequate communications capability. FM 100-13, *Battlefield Coordination Detachment*, was published in 1996 to address these issues and provide doctrine for BCD operations. The BCD is located within the air operations center (AOC), and has the mission to "facilitate the synchronization of joint air operations with Army ground maneuver and fires, to coordinate joint air support, and to facilitate the exchange of operational and intelligence data." The detachment is divided into six functional sections: operations, plans, intelligence, air defense, airspace management, and airlift. The BCD sections liaise directly with their Air Force counterparts within the AOC. The BCD is required to provide a ground picture for the AOC, coordinate Army requests for airpower, facilitate the exchange of intelligence, deconflict

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¹³⁴. Army Field Manual 100-7, 7-6 to 7-9.

^{135.} US Army, Operation Desert Storm Lessons Learned (Tait Report), Volume III, Operational, 3-2.

airspace, integrate Army air defense with counterair operations, coordinate airlift support, and provide feedback from AOC to the ground commander. 137

In summary, through Army doctrine the ground commander has claimed responsibility for synchronizing the deep battle. The main rationale for this claim is the deep battle's location — inside the ground force commander's area of operations. To better synchronize deep attack, the Army has created a deep operations coordination cell located in the corps main command post and a more robust battlefield coordination detachment in the AOC. Frustration with the use of the FSCL during the Gulf War motivated the Army to clearly specify its application. The Army claims that the FSCL is a permissive coordination measure, and that only the ground commander has the authority to position the line and establish restrictions to the its use. Finally, the new FM 100-5 has changed the Army's deep battle concept from shaping the battlefield for the close fight, to "simultaneously engaging enemy forces throughout the depth of the battle area." 138

Air Force Doctrine since the Persian Gulf War

The Gulf War air campaign validated classic Air Force doctrine. According to General Colin Powell, "Command and control of joint air operations was the best in US military history." The *Gulf War Air Power Survey* describes airpower's effect in the deep battle, stating:

The events on the ground made clear that air power essentially paralyzed or demoralized the Iraqi heavy divisions on which the Iraqi strategy depended. The remnants of some divisions were

¹³⁶. First Battlefield Coordination Detachment (BCD), *Operations*, briefing slides, (Fort Bragg N.C.: First BCD, 1997).

¹³⁷. Army Field Manual 100-13, *Battlefield Coordination Detachment*, 1996, 1-4 to 2-14.

¹³⁸. Army Field Manual 100-5, 7-13.

¹³⁹. US Air Force, *JFACC Primer*, February 1994, inside front cover.

destroyed in place or surrendered with little resistance; while others fled the theater without much of their equipment. 140

Doctrine produced by the Air Force since 1991 has been built upon the successes enjoyed by airmen and soldiers during the war. It also re-affirms several of airpower's enduring precepts.

Centralized control, flexibility and versatility, and concentration are tenets of airpower. Before examining these tenets in current doctrine, it is worth viewing the airman's perspective in 1943. FM 100-20, *Command and Employment of Air Power*, stated,

The inherent flexibility of air power is its greatest asset. This flexibility makes it possible to employ the whole weight of the available air power against selected areas in turn; such concentrated use of the air striking force is a battle-winning factor of the first importance. Control of available air power must be centralized and command must be exercised through the Air Force commander if this inherent flexibility and ability to deliver a decisive blow are to be fully exploited.¹⁴¹

The 1992 edition of AFM 1-1 is neoclassic airpower doctrine. Its purpose is to guide Air Force operations with the essential truths discovered 50 years earlier — but later forgotten. Some airpower thinkers in the Air Force were concerned about the "unholy alliance between the TAF [tactical air forces] and the Army." AirLand Battle was Army doctrine, and cast airpower in a supporting role. Under certain conditions, this role may have been appropriate, but it eliminated the potential for battle-winning independent air operations.

The 1992 AFM 1-1 states, "Aerospace forces should be *centrally controlled* by an airman to achieve advantageous synergies, establish effective priorities, capitalize on unique strategic and

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¹⁴⁰. Eliot A. Cohen, *Gulf War Air Power Survey (GWAPS) Summary Report*, (Washington, D.C.: US GPO, 1993). 116.

¹⁴¹. Army Field Manual 100-20, Command and Employment of Air Power, 1943, 1-2.

operational flexibilities, ensure unity of purpose, and minimize the potential for conflicting objectives [italics added]." As JFACC, General Horner had a large measure of centralized control over airpower during the Persian Gulf War. Through centralized control he was able to achieve unity of effort for the air campaign and the deep battle. General Horner's initial objectives for airpower were air superiority and strategic paralysis. After air superiority was achieved, he unleashed the coalition air armada on the Iraqi army. General Horner's ability to shift the air campaign effort from counter-air to interdiction demonstrated airpower's inherent flexibility. It was not uncommon for a fighter pilot to execute an offensive counter-air mission and then immediately turn to an interdiction or strategic attack sortie. For the deep battle, airpower's flexibility permitted ABCCC to shift airborne missions from air interdiction to CAS, and vice versa, as the situation demanded. Airpower's flexibility and versatility make it the only form of military power that can alternately "strike at enemy centers of gravity wherever or whatever those centers might be, . . . destroy enemy forces before they come in contact with friendly forces, . . . and assist directly in surface battles, perhaps with decisive effects."

Centralized control gave General Horner the means to concentrate airpower on the CINC's priorities. General Horner was under great pressure from the corps commanders to release battlefield air interdiction missions for corps tasking. According to Richard Hallion,

... despite a distribution of targets made by an Army Deputy CINC [General Waller] using lists provided by ground force commanders, and approved overall by an Army theater CINC

¹⁴². Edward C. Mann III, *Thunder and Lightning*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1995), 166.

^{143.} Air Force Manual 1-1, Basic Aerospace Doctrine of the United States Air Force,

¹⁴⁴. Air Force Manual 1-1, *Basic Aerospace Doctrine of the United States Air Force*, volume 2, March 1992, 115-116.

[General Schwarzkopf], ground commanders still complained that they weren't getting sufficient air support! They continued to demand unnecessary targeting of Iraqi forces and positions directly in front of their sectors. 145

Airpower is most effective when it is concentrated. Centralized control allowed General Horner to execute a coherent campaign where airpower was focused on the operational center of gravity and not consumed on relatively unimportant tactical-level targets. The 1992 edition of Basic Aerospace Doctrine effectively argues for the JFACC's control over the air effort, stating "Full use of aerospace forces' advantages in flexibility and versatility is possible only when all aerospace forces within a theater are centrally controlled."¹⁴⁶

Current and draft Air Force deep battle doctrine is a reflection of the Persian Gulf War model. It also has been heavily influenced by General Merrill McPeak's efforts during the Commission on Roles and Missions. General McPeak was USAF Chief of Staff during Desert Storm, and retired in 1994. He stated that:

The Close Battle should be fought by ground forces (including organic aviation and air defense) under the command of a joint forces land component commander, either USA or USMC, depending on who supplies the preponderance of forces. The deep battle should be fought by air forces under command of a joint forces air component commander, either USAF or USN, depending on who provides key force elements and has appropriate C3I [command, control, communications and information]. 147

Historically, the Air Force had responsibility for the deep battle, and during the Gulf War airmen demonstrated high competence in executing and synchronizing deep operations. General

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 ^{145.} Richard P. Hallion, *Storm Over Iraq*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 1992), 208.
 146. Air Force Manual 1-1, volume 2, 130-131.

McPeak believed that the services should concentrate on missions where they are most effective. Accordingly, the deep battle should belong to the JFACC. 148

Current Air Force doctrine and leaders maintain that the FSCL is a boundary between the close and deep battles, and that the JFACC has responsibility for synchronizing operations beyond the coordination line. *The JFACC Primer* states, "Just as synchronization of all attack assets is critical to the land component commander for all fires inside the FSCL, so it is critical to the air component commander for all attacks beyond the FSCL." According to General Ronald Fogleman, the current USAF Chief of Staff, "the Air Force considers the JFACC as best suited to coordinate operations beyond the FSCL."

Air Force strategists assert that airpower's flexibility is maximized and the enemy is put at the greatest risk when the coordination line is positioned relatively close to the FLOT. A close FSCL permits the air commander to decisively concentrate air interdiction on the battlefield, and reduces the otherwise time-consuming coordination that close air support procedures require. Airmen remember the Army's use of the FSCL during the Gulf War, and how it prevented airpower from completing the destruction of the escaping Iraqi Army. General Fogleman states

If the FSCL is established too far out, you slow and reduce air power's access to enemy targets. . . . If the FSCL is so far forward that ground troops don't have the sufficient organic sensors and shooters to cover the targets, then you give the enemy a sanctuary. Air component

¹⁴⁷. Merrill A. McPeak, *Presentation to the Commission on Roles and Missions of the Armed Forces*, (Washington D.C.: US GPO, 1994), 39.

¹⁴⁸. Merrill A. McPeak, *Selected Works*, 1990-1994, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1995), 355-359.

^{149.} US Air Force, JFACC Primer, 33.

¹⁵⁰. Ronald R. Fogleman and Dennis J. Reimer, "Joint Warfare and the Army-Air Force Team," *Joint Force Quarterly* no. 11, (Spring 1996): 11.

assets can't attack targets inside the FSCL without tremendous coordination. The last thing we want is to give an enemy sanctuary on the battlefield.¹⁵¹

The Air Force maintains that the FSCL should be positioned to maximize the effects of airpower and firepower. According to *The JFACC Primer*, "The most reliable way to maximize the enemy's risk is to place the FSCL at the range where artillery and missiles stop being the greatest threat to the enemy and air attack becomes the greatest threat. All operations beyond the range of observed fires should be under the purview of the JFACC." Typically, this distance is tube artillery maximum range — as it was during the early days of AirLand Battle.

The Air Force recognizes the Army's desire to extend the range of the FSCL and argues against such action. Airpower employment short of the FSCL requires detailed integration, therefore is essentially limited to CAS. According to AFM 1-1, "Surface commanders should properly prioritize and focus the firepower of allocated CAS at decisive places and times to achieve their objectives." CAS is a limited resource, and should be massed for concentrated combat power. If the Army extends the range of the FSCL its finite CAS allocation cannot be massed and consequently loses much of its effectiveness.

Airpower allocated to prosecute the deep battle beyond the FSCL is primarily air interdiction. According to current Air Force doctrine, the JFACC should coordinate the entire interdiction effort in theater. The new AFM 1-1 purged all references to BAI, thereby reducing the lingering concerns among airmen over the centralized control of air interdiction. AFM 1-1

¹⁵¹. Ronald R. Fogleman, "Making the Most of Air Power," *Field Artillery*, Sep-Oct 1996, 4.

¹⁵². US Air Force, *JFACC Primer*, 33-34.

^{153.} Air Force Doctrine Document 2-1.3, *Counterland Operations* (second draft), February 1997, 22.

^{154.} Air Force Manual 1-1, volume 1, 13.

^{155.} Air Force Doctrine Document 1, *Air Force Basic Doctrine* (second draft), May 1996, 17. Conventionally armed strategic attack missions would logically be allocated to the deep battle if the enemy's fielded forces are deemed a strategic center of gravity.

states, "To achieve efficiencies and enhance effectiveness, the air component commander should control all forces performing interdiction and integrate interdiction with surface force operations to achieve the theater commander's objectives [emphasis added]."156 The Air Force maintains that Army weapon systems performing interdiction missions beyond the FSCL should be synchronized by the JFACC. The JFACC Primer continues this reasoning, stating

Army aviation assets are normally retained for employment as organic forces. . . . However, some Army helicopters could also be employed in interdiction, in which case they may come under the purview of the JFACC when the JFACC has been tasked to plan and execute the theater interdiction effort. The same can hold true for other systems (such as ATACMS) when employed for interdiction.¹⁵⁷

General Fogleman believes that Army operations beyond the FSCL should be included on the air tasking order. According to General Fogleman, the ATO is the only comprehensive picture of the deep battle and can reduce the possibilities of fratricide and redundant targeting. During the Persian Gulf War, General Horner demanded that Army operations beyond the FSCL be included on the air tasking order for the same reasons. General Fogleman claims that ultimately the CINC must decide whether or not the JFACC will control Army deep battle weapons, but regardless of that decision, the planned use of those weapons must be accounted for in the ATO. 158

Within the Army's AirLand Battle construct, airpower was boxed into a supporting role. The Air Force has rejected that paradigm. Air Force doctrine asserts that airpower will at times be the CINC's main effort. Moreover, airpower can be independently decisive when making war

^{156.} Air Force Manual 1-1, volume 1, 12.157. US Air Force, *JFACC Primer*, 12.

¹⁵⁸. Ronald R. Fogleman, "Making the Most of Air Power," *Field Artillery*, Sep-Oct 1996, 3.

against enemy fielded forces. Air Force Doctrine Document (AFDD) 2, *Theater Air Warfare*, claims that Desert Storm "validated the concept of a campaign where airpower, with precision and lethality, applied simultaneously against enemy centers of gravity, rendered opposing military forces ineffective. Airpower emerged as a dominant form of military might. It was decisive." Air interdiction can efficiently destroy key enemy surface forces in the deep battle, and thus prevent a costly ground war of attrition. According to AFDD 2-1.3, *Counterland Operations*, air interdiction operations "offer the potential to prevent enemy surface forces from engaging friendly forces at all." ¹⁶⁰

In summary, current airpower doctrine for the deep battle is modeled on an extremely successful Gulf War air campaign. Its foundation is quintessential airpower thought. Through centralized control the air commander can concentrate the entire air effort at the decisive point. Centralized control also permits the flexible employment of airpower — the ability to shift the air campaign focus nearly anywhere for any purpose. Contemporary Air Force doctrine assigns the responsibility for synchronizing the deep battle with the JFACC. The air commander plans to use the FSCL as a boundary between his operations and the land component's responsibilities. Air Force leaders want the coordination line positioned relatively close to the FLOT, and believe that all operations beyond the FSCL should be included on the ATO. Finally, the JFACC's effort in the deep battle can be the main effort in theater, and has the potential to be independently decisive.

¹⁵⁹. Air Force Doctrine Document 2, *Theater Air Warfare* (fourth draft), May 1996, ii.

¹⁶⁰. Air Force Doctrine Document 2-1.3, Counterland Operations (second draft), February 1997, vi.

Joint Doctrine and the Deep Battle

Air Force and Army deep battle doctrine appear to be incompatible. Both air and land component commanders claim the ultimate responsibility for synchronizing deep operations. The air component commander demands centralized control over all airpower assets. As the supported commander for interdiction, the air commander wants a shallow FSCL to demarcate his deep operations from the close battle. He also envisions a restrictive FSCL, and synchronizes airpower and firepower beyond the coordination line with the ATO. Army doctrine assigns the responsibility for synchronizing airpower and firepower to the ground force commander, since he is the supported commander for all operations in his AO. The ground force commander believes the FSCL is a permissive coordination measure used to unshackle long-range firepower from detailed coordination requirements. The difficult task for joint doctrine is to reconcile these differences.

Joint doctrine is authoritative and by regulation takes precedence over service doctrine. If a conflict between service and joint doctrine arises, joint doctrine must be used unless the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff provides other guidance. Additionally, commanders are required to comply with joint doctrine unless extraordinary conditions exist. 161

The central principle required to successfully conduct joint operations is unity of effort. Unity of effort is "common action throughout the joint force in pursuit of common objectives." ¹⁶² Unity of effort requires that activities in a combat theater be synchronized. The joint force commander is ultimately responsible for ensuring that theater operations are synchronized in time, space, and purpose. Joint doctrine instructs the JFC to designate the forces made available

 $^{^{161}.\,}$ Joint Publication 3-0, *Doctrine for Joint Operations*, 1995, i. $^{162}.\,$ ibid., I-1.

to his component commanders and the type of control the component commander will have over those forces. For example, the land force commander normally has tactical control (TACON) over allocated close air support missions. To enhance unity of effort, the JFC has the authority to establish supported and supporting relationships among his commanders. 163

According to JP 3-0, Doctrine for Joint Operations, the commander of the supported force has the authority to specify the *general* direction of the supporting force. General direction is "designation and prioritization of targets or objectives, timing and duration of the supporting action, and other instructions necessary for coordination." The supporting commander is required to determine the needs of the supported force and take action to meet those needs assuming his capabilities and other JFC assigned tasks in theater permit such action.

The JFC establishes areas of operation throughout the theater to facilitate joint force coordination. Land forces can be assigned areas of operation, which vary in size based on METT-T factors. The area of operation must be large enough for the land force commander to accomplish his mission and protect his force. The JFC is responsible for positioning the rear, lateral, and forward boundaries that define the land component commander's AO. 165

The land force commander is the supported commander inside his area of operations. As supported commander, he is "responsible for the synchronization of maneuver, fires, and interdiction . . . within his AO." 166 Joint doctrine directs the land force commander to initially strike interdiction targets with organic firepower. When organic firepower is unable to satisfy the interdiction requirements the land force commander requests support from the JFACC, who is the supporting commander for interdiction in the land commander's area of operations. Joint

¹⁶³. ibid., II-9, II-15. ¹⁶⁴. ibid., II-9.

doctrine instructs the land commander to clearly portray his vision of air interdiction support for maneuver operations. When requesting support, he "designates target priority, effects, and timing of interdiction operations within his AO." However, the land commander should also "provide the supporting commanders as much latitude as possible in the planning and execution of their operations."

JP 3-03, *Doctrine for Joint Interdiction Operations*, states "the JFACC is the supported commander for the JFC's overall interdiction effort." Joint doctrine describes interdiction as. . action to divert, disrupt, delay, or destroy the enemy's surface potential before it can be used effectively against friendly forces. Joint interdiction operations are those interdiction operations conducted in support of theater wide priorities, or interdiction operations between supported and supporting components.¹⁶⁹

The JFACC typically has operational control over his assigned and attached forces as well as tactical control over other forces made available by the service commanders.¹⁷⁰ Essentially, the JFACC provides centralized *direction* over these interdiction assets. This serves two important purposes. First, the air commander generates a unifying effort for the JFC's campaign by personally directing all air interdiction. Second, the JFACC optimizes theater-wide joint interdiction targeting. Efficient and effective interdiction targeting is essential because the demands for interdiction support are almost always greater than available assets.

The air component commander is not assigned a specific area of operation. Since interdiction, counter-air, and strategic attack targets may be located anywhere, the JFACC cannot

¹⁶⁸. Joint Publication 3-03, *Doctrine for Joint Interdiction Operations* (final coordination), 1995, viii.

¹⁶⁶. ibid., ix, IV-15.

¹⁶⁷. ibid

^{170.} Joint Publication 3-56.1, Command and Control for Joint Air Operations, 1994, p. II-2.

be constrained by land boundaries. Joint doctrine states that air interdiction may constitute the *main effort in theater*. According to JP 3-0, "JFCs may choose to employ interdiction as a principal means to achieve the intended objective, with other components supporting the component leading [JFACC] the interdiction effort." This was the case during phases I, II, and III of the Persian Gulf War.

The JFACC is the supported commander for theater operations outside the land force commander's AO.¹⁷² Joint doctrine directs JFACC to conduct theater interdiction planning, allocation, coordination, deconfliction, and tasking.¹⁷³ The air tasking order is the JFACC's tool for accomplishing these activities. JP 3-56.1, *Command and Control for Joint Air Operations*, states that "targets scheduled for deliberate attack by component direct support air capabilities/forces should be included in the joint ATO, when appropriate, for deconfliction and coordination."¹⁷⁴ This directive, however, does not force the Army into submitting attack aviation mission data for ATO publication because the Army considers attack helicopters a maneuver force, not an air support force.

To provide joint targeting oversight, the JFC may establish a joint target coordination board. The joint force commander can model his JTCB on one of two examples described in joint doctrine. The first example is a target integration center where junior officers deconflict organic and joint interdiction. The second JTCB model is a JFC-level review council. This senior level targeting board is normally chaired by the JFC's deputy commander and attended by the air and land component commanders or their immediate subordinates. The JTCB can be tasked to

¹⁷¹. Joint Publication 3-0, III-33, IV-14.

^{172.} Ronald R. Fogleman and Dennis J. Reimer, Message, 191947Z Dec 96.

^{173.} Joint Publication 3-03, xi.

¹⁷⁴ Joint Publication 3-56.1, IV-3.

determine general targeting priorities, pass target information, and prepare or refine joint target lists. ¹⁷⁵

Since the JFACC can attack targets anywhere in theater, the JFLCC uses the fire support coordination line to limit fratricide and redundant targeting within his area of operations. The fire support coordination line in joint doctrine is similar to the FSCL described by the Army. The coordination line is established and adjusted by the land commander, who must first discuss his FSCL plans with superior, subordinate, and supporting commanders. JP 3-03 cautions, "The decision on where to place or even use an FSCL requires careful consideration. . . . Establishment of the FSCL too far forward can limit the responsiveness of air interdiction sorties." Airpower employment short of the FSCL, normally CAS allocated to the ground forces, requires detailed synchronization with the land commander's scheme of maneuver. According to JP 3-0, "Short of the FSCL, all fires are controlled by the land force commander [emphasis added]." 177

Joint doctrine states that air interdiction may be used to attack targets on *either* side of the coordination line. When air interdiction operations are short of the FSCL, they will be "controlled and/or coordinated with the land force commander," and must receive battlefield threat and target updates through the tactical air control system.¹⁷⁸

When surface targets are beyond the FSCL, but still within the land component commander's AO, the coordination requirements are less stringent. Air interdiction operations in this region are not under JFLCC tactical control, but remain under OPCON to the air commander. To reduce the possibility of fratricide and redundant targeting, the JFACC and

¹⁷⁵. Joint Publication 3-56.1, IV-2.

^{176.} Joint Publication 3-03, II-15.

¹⁷⁷. Joint Publication 3-0, xiii.

JFLCC should coordinate attacks beyond the fire support coordination line. Even so, the FSCL remains permissive in joint doctrine. JP 3-0 states that "in exceptional circumstances the inability to conduct this coordination will not preclude the attack of targets beyond the FSCL."¹⁷⁹

The Army and Air Force chiefs of staff discussed deep battle coordination requirements at the 1996 Army-Air Force Warfighter Conference. The conference was hailed as a watershed event for the resolution of several contentious doctrine issues. Generals Reimer and Fogleman agreed that all targets for joint fires, including those inside and outside the land commander's AO, will be coordinated between components to the maximum extent possible. The chiefs of staff also agreed that there will be times when coordination is not possible, thus permissive fires beyond the FSCL remain authorized. According to the Warfighter agreement, the commander executing the uncoordinated mission would accept the responsibility for fratricide incidents that may occur. 180

Synthesis and Final Analysis

Joint doctrine resolves several of the deep battle management conflicts between the Army and Air Force. Within the JFLCC's area of operations, the land commander is the supported commander and therefore responsible for synchronizing airpower and firepower. The JFACC is a supporting commander inside the land commander's AO. Outside the land commander's area of operations the JFACC is the supported commander.

Determining the size of the land commander's AO is a critically important task for the joint force commander. Regardless of the JFC's uniform, he must act rationally and without bias

^{178.} Joint Publication 3-03, II-15.179. Joint Publication 3-0, III-34.

^{180.} Ronald R. Fogleman and Dennis J. Reimer, Message, 191947Z Dec 96.

when establishing boundaries. A primary objective when placing boundaries is maximizing combat power. Due to increased coordination requirements, a degree of efficiency is lost when component commanders provide support across boundaries — consequently combat power is reduced. The land commander's area of operations must be just large enough to accomplish his mission and protect his forces. If the AO is larger than necessary, the JFACC's access to the deep battlefield is unacceptably impeded. Conversely, if the land commander's area of operations is too small, his mission could be jeopardized and his forces exposed to increased risk.

Joint doctrine mandates coordination between the JFACC and JFLCC. At the command level, the joint target coordination board provides a forum for achieving unity of effort in the deep battle. The Air Force and Army want a senior level targeting forum with a macro-view of the campaign, as opposed to a board of junior officers convened to select targets. Beyond the land force commander's area of operation, the JFACC uses the air tasking order to coordinate airpower and firepower. Within the land commander's AO, corps and division deep operations cells plan the deep battle and communicate with the JFACC's air operations center through the battlefield coordination detachment.

Although joint doctrine clearly defines how the battlefield will be divided and demands coordination between the air and land commanders, it does not provide sufficient and acceptable guidance to synchronize the deep battle. The core of the problem is fire support coordination line doctrine. FSCL guidance in joint doctrine threatens the JFACC's centralized control over airpower, and permits a situation where the joint force commander's combat power is weakened. It also places airmen at risk from friendly-fire.

The land force commander establishes and positions the FSCL. He has tactical control over *all* operations short of the coordination line. Beyond the FSCL he synchronizes operations, but

does not control supporting forces such as the JFACC's airpower. The temptation to increase his area of tactical control encourages the land component commander to set the fire support coordination line deep within the AO. The land commander is also led to position the FSCL deeply because such an arrangement reduces his coordination requirements with the JFACC.

Joint doctrine demands detailed integration and coordination of airpower short of the FSCL. Close air support procedures provide the necessary coordination to safely execute airpower short of the FSCL — assuming the coordination line is relatively close to the FLOT, or that an airborne forward air controller is available. If the coordination line is positioned at a great distance from the FLOT and only a ground FAC is available, it is nearly impossible to provide the detailed integration required for close air support. Moreover, a deep FSCL dilutes the land commander's finite quantity of allocated close air support sorties. Spreading limited CAS assets across the depth of the AO inhibits employment in mass and makes CAS far less effective.

Joint doctrine states that air interdiction will be flown short of the fire support coordination line. This provision gives tactical control of air interdiction to the ground commander — a situation that is completely unacceptable to airmen. If the JFACC abdicates his centralized control over air interdiction, airpower's flexibility is diminished. Additionally, air interdiction executed short of the FSCL demands the same burdensome coordination as required for CAS. Air interdiction operations do not easily lend themselves to detailed coordination and integration with ground forces, thus greatly increase the probability of air-to-surface fratricide.

Airpower and firepower beyond the FSCL should be coordinated to the maximum extent possible. However, joint doctrine permits non-coordinated attacks under exceptional conditions — generating a situation where the risk of fratricide is balanced against the possibility of destroying a target. Allowing permissive fires beyond the coordination line creates a slippery-

slope, leading to a point where the chances of surface-to-air fratricide increase dramatically when airpower and firepower are not synchronized.

Each of these issues adversely affects the joint force commander's ability to effectively conduct deep operations. Chapter 5 provides several recommendations that address these problems, and hopefully will improve the synchronization of airpower and firepower in the deep battle.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The greatest lesson of this war has been the extent to which air, land, and sea operations can and must be coordinated by joint planning and unified command. The attainment of better coordination and balance than now exist between services is an essential of national security.¹⁸¹

— General Henry (Hap) Arnold

USAAF Commanding General, 1945

Deep battle was formally introduced into US warfighting doctrine during the early 1980's. The initial purpose for the deep battle was to delay and weaken Soviet second and follow-on echelons during a European conventional war. The Air Force had the unofficial and singular responsibility for synchronizing deep operations and planned to employ air interdiction against Soviet maneuver forces to set the conditions for victory in the decisive close battle. The fire support coordination line, normally positioned at field artillery maximum range from the FLOT, separated Air Force's deep operations from the Army's close battle.

During the late 1980's, the Army fielded a potent deep battle capability. Army organic firepower and attack aviation provided the land component commander the ability to prosecute the deep battle in concert with the Air Force, or independently if necessary. Army doctrine

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assigned the ground forces commander the responsibility for synchronizing deep operations with the close battle — germinating the seeds of conflict with the Air Force over deep battle management. To better influence deep operations, the Army defined the FSCL as a permissive fire support coordination measure (FSCM) and also extended the range of fire support coordination line from the FLOT.

During the Persian Gulf War, General Horner synchronized deep operations. To manage the deep battle, he used several *ad hoc* procedures — all approved by General Schwarzkopf. General Horner employed a restrictive FSCL, requiring all planned airpower, firepower, and maneuver operations beyond the fire support coordination line be included on the air tasking order. General Horner's restrictive FSCL facilitated a coherent deep battle plan, minimized redundant targeting, and eliminated surface-to-air fratricide. By most accounts, coalition efforts in the deep battle were extremely successful. There were two exceptions. During the last day of the war the VII and XVIII Corps commanders significantly extended the range of their respective FSCLs, and consequently prevented the JFACC from attacking the Iraqi Republican Guard. Unfortunately, the corps commanders were then unable to mass combat power against the Iraqis. These events created a form of sanctuary on the battlefield for the most important elements of the Iraqi army — ultimately leading to the enemy's successful retreat into Iraq.

Joint doctrine produced since the Gulf War attempts to create a framework to synchronize airpower and firepower in the deep battle. Several contentious issues have been resolved — especially regarding command relationships on and above the deep battlefield. Unfortunately, current joint doctrine does not provide sufficient and acceptable guidance to synchronize Air Force and Army deep operations. This study's final chapter presents five recommendations to

¹⁸¹. Robert F. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine: Basic Thinking in the United States Air Force, 1907-*

change joint doctrine, thereby improving the joint force commander's capability to engage the enemy simultaneously throughout the depth of the battlefield.

Recommendation 1: Assign the joint force commander the responsibility for establishing and positioning the FSCL.

Currently, the ground force commander positions the fire support coordination line. Joint doctrine requires that he consult with superior, subordinate, and supporting commanders prior to placing the FSCL. The ground force commander is strongly tempted to establish a deep FSCL—under certain conditions greater than 150 kilometers from the FLOT. A distant FSCL increases the ground force commander's span of tactical control over the battlefield, and reduces his coordination requirements with the JFACC.

Airmen prefer to have the fire support coordination line positioned near the close battle. An FSCL located near the FLOT maximizes airpower's flexibility, and places the enemy at the greatest risk from air attack. This is because *all* air operations short of the FSCL require detailed integration with ground firepower and maneuver forces, while air interdiction missions beyond the FSCL do not demand the same exacting degree of coordination.

Obviously, the Air Force and Army are in direct conflict regarding the proper depth of the coordination line. Airmen and soldiers can make seemingly rational arguments to support their mutually exclusive views. However, since the ground force commander ultimately positions the FSCL, the argument will go in his favor — unless the joint force commander intervenes as General Schwarzkopf did during the Desert Storm air war.

The joint force commander *must* have the responsibility for establishing and re-positioning the fire support coordination line. He is concerned with the aggregate performance of his

1960, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1971), 192.

command, and should not be influenced by service politics. This fact compels the joint force commander to make a rational judgment when positioning the FSCL, primarily basing his decision on maximizing relative combat power for the deep battle.

Recommendation 2: Re-define the FSCL as a restrictive fire support coordination measure.

Joint doctrine defines the FSCL as a permissive fire support coordination measure. Currently, airpower and firepower missions beyond the FSCL *should* be coordinated through the air and land component staffs. However, "in exceptional circumstances the inability to conduct this coordination will not preclude the attack of targets beyond the FSCL." The Army strongly endorses joint doctrine's permissive definition of the fire support coordination line.

The Air Force, on the other hand, is unhappy with a permissive FSCL. Airmen point to the considerable efforts made to reduce the likelihood of air-to-surface fratricide short of the coordination line, and want the same emphasis placed on eliminating surface-to-air friendly fire beyond the FSCL. The Air Force finds it disconcerting that soldiers, when executing permissive fires, essentially balance the risk of surface-to-air fratricide against the possibility of destroying a target. Not only do such uncoordinated attacks increase the probability of surface-to-air fratricide, but they also invite redundant targeting.

Joint doctrine should re-define the FSCL as a *restrictive* fire support coordination measure, forcing the air and land component staffs to coordinate *all* operations beyond the FSCL. During the Persian Gulf War, General Schwarzkopf defined the coordination line as a restrictive FSCM. Although the Army complained about the FSCL's restrictive nature during and after the war, it contributed to safety and combat efficiency, and did not significantly inhibit or delay operations. Recent improvements in communications and computer technology make the

achievement of this recommendation a relatively simple task. The air and land component staffs already coordinate internal operations — all that remains is the fusion of data between airmen and soldiers. This proposal will reduce the likelihood of friendly-fire incidents, and largely eliminate redundant targeting. Additionally, the JFACC will acquire an accurate picture of the ground force commander's deep battle planning and execution — facilitating more effective, efficient, and timely airpower support.

Recommendation 3: Include all planned airpower, firepower, and maneuver operations beyond the FSCL on the air tasking order.

According to joint doctrine, the land force commander is the supported commander inside his area of operations. As supported commander, he is "responsible for the synchronization of maneuver, fires, and interdiction . . . within his AO." Although he has the authority to specify the *general* direction of the supporting force, the land commander should also "provide the supporting commanders as much latitude as possible in the planning and execution of their operations."

This recommendation does not challenge the ground commander's authority to specify the general direction of airpower and firepower within his AO. Instead, this proposal suggests that planned airpower, firepower, and maneuver operations beyond the FSCL can best be deconflicted using the air tasking order. According to General Fogleman, "a comprehensive ATO is the *only* document coming out of the targeting process that shows the total target servicing plan in time and space for the deep battle." ¹⁸⁵

¹⁸². Joint Publication 3-0, *Doctrine for Joint Operations*, 1995, III-34.

¹⁸³. ibid., ix, IV-15.

[.] ibid.

¹⁸⁵. Ronald R. Fogleman, "Making the Most of Air Power," *Field Artillery*, Sep-Oct 1996, 3.

Central Command currently uses the air tasking order to coordinate operations beyond the FSCL. According to *US CENTAF Concept of Operations for Command and Control of Air Operations* (U), "preplanned JFLCC fires/operations beyond the FSCL will be deconflicted in the ATO construction process. Conflicts will be brought to the attention of the JFLCC who will determine how the conflict is to be resolved." These CENTCOM procedures provide an excellent framework for the development of future joint doctrine.

Recommendation 4: Position the FSCL relatively close the FLOT, typically no farther than tube artillery maximum range.

Joint doctrine does not recommend a specific distance from the FLOT for fire support coordination line placement — and it should not. The joint force commander must consider METT-T factors when positioning the FSCL. Ideally, the coordination line's location should place the enemy at the greatest possible risk from US airpower and firepower. It also should be located sufficiently deep to ensure the ground forces commander has the necessary terrain to maneuver and protect his forces.

A relatively shallow fire support coordination line, positioned approximately at tube artillery maximum range, will place the enemy at the greatest total risk in most situations. This shallow FSCL will give the air commander the ability to mass airpower for the deep battle. Moreover, the ground commander will not be burdened with excessive coordination requirements when the coordination line is positioned at tube artillery maximum range. Only the ground commander's firepower and maneuver operations beyond the FSCL, essentially ATACMS and attack helicopter missions, will require coordination with the JFACC.

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¹⁸⁶. US CENTAF, Concept of Operations for Command and Control of Air Operations (U). 1 January 1996, 11. (Secret REL MNF) Information extracted is unclassified.

Recommendation 5: Restrict planned air interdiction missions from targets short of the FSCL.

Current joint doctrine states that air interdiction may be flown against targets short of the fire support coordination line. This provision essentially gives tactical control over a portion of the air interdiction effort to the ground commander — a situation that is unacceptable to airmen. The air component commander must maintain centralized control over all air interdiction operations. Allocating "small packets" of air interdiction to the ground commanders for targeting will diminished airpower's flexibility and effectiveness. This important truth, discovered through a bitter US defeat in the North African desert during World War II, must not be forgotten.

Additionally, air interdiction operations short of the coordination line demand the same burdensome coordination and control as required for CAS. As previously described, air interdiction operations do not readily lend themselves to such detailed coordination and integration with ground forces. Consequently, air interdiction executed against targets short of the FSCL are far more likely than CAS to result in air-to-surface fratricide.

During the Persian Gulf War, Generals Schwarzkopf and Horner recognized the necessity of restricting air interdiction operations to targets located beyond the FSCL. General

Montgomery reflected on the proper use of airpower in war. In his publication, *High Command in War*, General Montgomery observed, "Any officer who aspires to hold high command in war must understand clearly certain basic principles regarding the use of air power. The greatest asset of air power is its flexibility, and this enables it to be switched quickly from one objective to another in the theatre of operations. So long as this is realised, then the whole weight of the available air power can be used in selected areas in turn; this concentrated use of the air striking forces is a battle-winning factor of the first importance. It follows that control of the available air power must be centralised, and command must be exercised through R.A.F. channels. *Nothing could be more fatal to successful results that to dissipate the air resources into small packets placed under command of army formation commanders, with each packet working on its own plan.* The soldier must not expect, or wish, to exercise direct command over air striking forces [emphasis added]." Bernard L. Montgomery, *High Command in War*, (Tripoli, Libya: Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, 1943), 2.

Schwarzkopf's CAS allocation, when coupled with a reasonably positioned FSCL, more than fulfilled the ground commander's airpower requirements for targets short of the coordination line. Today, the US Central Command has formally adopted the air interdiction procedures established by the two generals. Future joint doctrine should also restrict planned air interdiction missions to targets beyond the coordination line.

This paper has examined US deep battle doctrine. The deep battle is fought in an area where both Air Force airpower and Army firepower can attack the enemy. Ideally, deep operations are synchronized and seamless. The Persian Gulf War demonstrated that Army, Air Force and Joint doctrine for the deep battle required improvement. To better synchronize airpower and firepower in the deep battle this study recommends five changes for joint doctrine.

Successful application of these recommendations for the deep battle will demand that airmen and soldiers trust each other. Ultimately, cooperation and trust are cornerstones of joint doctrine and the basis for decisive combat operations on and above the deep battlefield. General John Shalikashvili's vision for joint operations is focused exactly on target: "The nature of modern warfare demands that we fight as a joint team. This was important yesterday, it is essential today, and will be even more imperative tomorrow." 189

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¹⁸⁸. US CENTAF, Concept of Operations for Command and Control of Air Operations (U). 1 January 1996, 9-11. (Secret REL MNF) Information extracted is unclassified.

¹⁸⁹. Joint Vision 2010, America's Military: Preparing for Tomorrow, 1996, inside cover.

Appendix A

Glossary

ABCCC airborne battlefield command and control center

AD airborne division

AFDD Air Force doctrine document

AFM Air Force manual

AH attack helicopter

AI air interdiction

ALFA Air Land Forces Application [Directorate]

AO area of operations

AOC air operations center

ARCENT US Army Forces Central Command

ARFOR US Army forces

ATACMS Army Tactical Missile System

ATAF Allied Tactical Air Force

ATO air tasking order

ATP Allied Tactical Publication

BAI battlefield air interdiction

BAT Brilliant Submunition

BCD battlefield coordination detachment

BCE battlefield coordination element

CAS close air support

CENTAF US Air Forces Central Command

CENTCOM Central Command

CINC commander in chief

CP command post

DAWMS Deep Attack Weapons Mix Study

DCINC deputy commander in chief

DOCC deep operations coordination cell

FAC forward air controller

FEBA forward edge of the battle area

FLOT forward line of own troops

FM field manual

FSCL fire support coordination line

FSCM fire support coordination measure

JFACC joint force air component commander

JFC joint force commander

JFLCC joint force land component commander

JP joint publication

JTCB joint targeting coordination board

KTO Kuwaiti theater of operations

LOC lines of communication

MARCENT US Marine Forces Central Command

METT-T mission, enemy, troops, terrain and weather, and time

MLRS multiple launch rocket system

MMW millimeter wave

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OAS offensive air support

RFL restricted fire line

TAC US Air Force Tactical Air Command

TACC tactical air control center

TRADOC US Army Training and Doctrine Command

USAFE US Air Forces Europe

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